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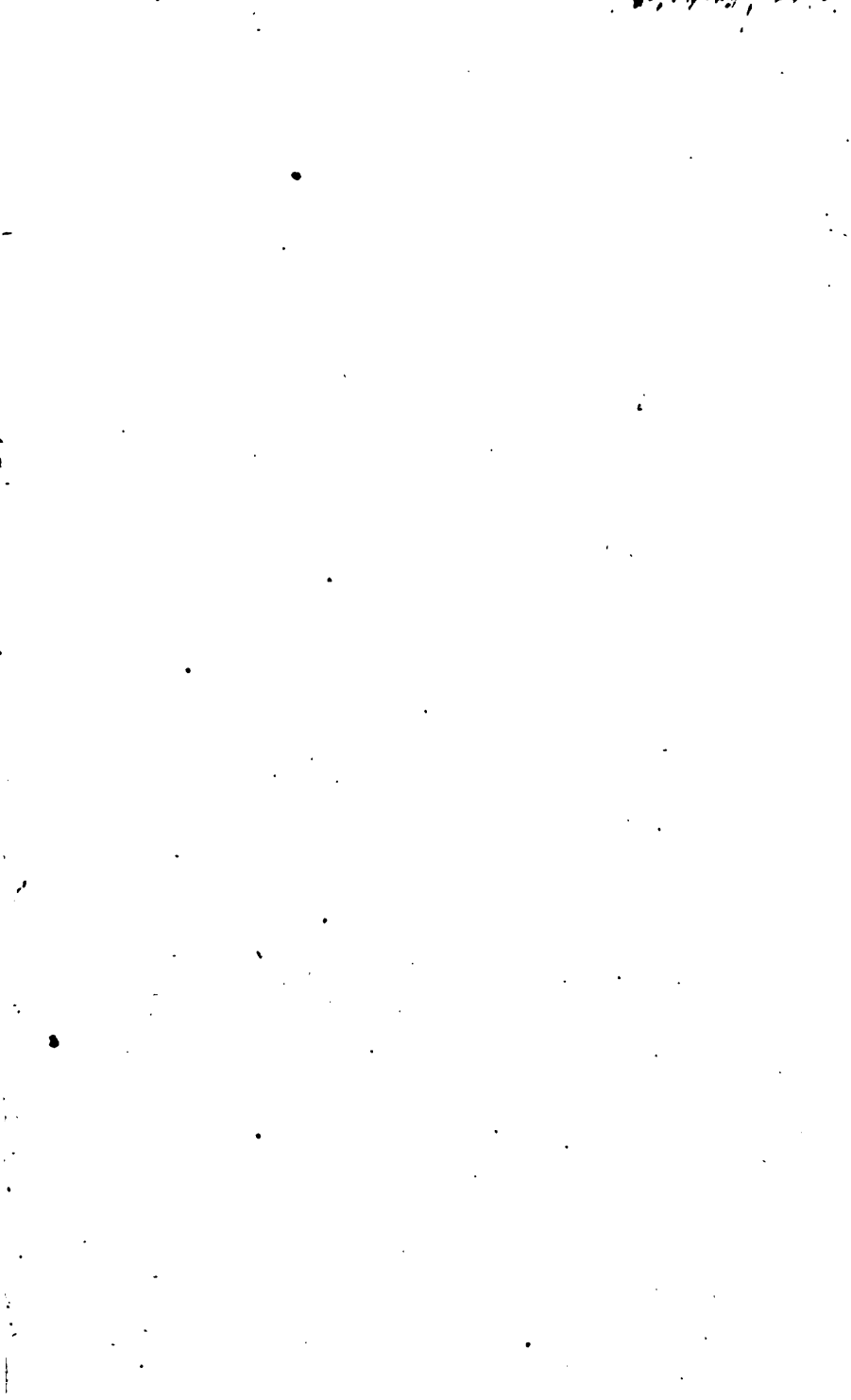
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G. P. Goussier Sculp.

THE  
HISTORY  
OF THE  
REVOLUTIONS  
*That happened in the Government*  
OF THE  
ROMAN REPUBLIC.

Written in *French* by the Abbot de Vertot, of  
the *Royal Academy of Inscriptions, &c.*

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THE  
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ROMAN REPUBLIC.

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BOOK VII.

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*The Romans invest the City of Veij, which costs them a Ten Years Siege. A Tribune of the People proposes to make that City a Second Rome, by sending Half of the Senate, of the Knights and of the People, to inhabit it. The Senators, with much struggling, bring this Design to nothing. Camillus being*

VOL. II,

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attack'd

attack'd by the Tribunes, leaves Rome, and takes Refuge in Ardea. An Army of Gauls, commanded by Brennus, penetrates into Tuscany, and besieges Clusium. The Tuscans beg Succour of the Romans. These latter solicit Brennus by Ambassadors, who, through their Imprudence, oblige that General to declare War against their Country. The *Route of Asia*. *Rome taken and burnt*. The Siege of the Capitol. Camillus Dictator, The Gauls cut in pieces. Rome rebuilt. Manlius Capitolinus accused of aspiring to be made King of Rome, is thrown headlong from the Top of the Capitol. After a great many Cabals and Stirs, which the Plebeians had in vain made, to procure one of the Places in the Consulship for their own Body, they at last obtain what they so earnestly desire; and owe this Success to the Tears of a Woman. Sextius is the first Plebeian Consul. The Præture: The Censure of Edility. These Two New Dignities are appropriated to the Patricians, in Exclusion of the Plebeians. C. Licinius Stolo, Author of the Lex Licinia, is the first that is punished for violating it.

Liv. in fine  
l. 4. Diod.  
l. 14.



ESTDES the Ease of the People, the Senate in allotting Funds for the Payment of the Troops, had at the same Time a View of enabling themselves to carry on the War farther, and maintain it longer. Before this Regulation, they did not so much make War as Incursions, which were generally terminated by one Battel. These petty Wars lasted not above Twenty or Thirty Days, and oftentimes not so long; the Soldiers, for want of Pay, not being able to keep the Field for a long Time together. But when the Senate saw it in their Power to keep up a regular Body of Troops

Troops at all Times, they formed greater Projects, and laid a Design to besiege *Veij*, one of the strongest Places in *Italy*, the Bulwark of *Tuscany*, and which yielded to *Rome* neither in the Valour nor Wealth of its Inhabitants. Year of Rome, 347.

The *Tuscans* lived under a Republic like the *Sabins*, the *Volsci*, the *Romans*, and most of the other Nations of *Italy*. The City of *Veij* only, which was the most powerful of that Community, had lately chosen themselves a King; and this Change in the Government, had made the other Petty States of that Province less zealous for its Interests.

The *Romans* inform'd of this Indifference, resolv'd to take Revenge for the Devastations which the *Volscians* had made in the Territory of *Rome*. After having put an advantageous Conclusion to the War against the *Volsci*, they made it their whole Care to raise such a powerful Army, as might be answerable to the Greatness of this Enterprize.

*Livy* tells us, they chose Eight Military Tribunes Dec. 1. L. on purpose; which had never been known before 3. c. 1. in the Republick, tho' other Historians take notice but of Six. We find another Difference in Authors, upon occasion of this Siege: Some place the Tribunate of *M. Furius Camillus*, and of *Appius Claudius Crassus*, in the 348th Year of *Rome*; and others say, they did not attain that Dignity till the 350th. Neither is it very certain whether *Camillus* was not rather *Censor* this Year, than Military Tribune. Val. Max. l. 2. c. 9. Whichsoever of these different Opinions be right, we shall find by the Sequel of this History, that these Two Magistrates had the Chief Glory of this War.

*Appius* was Grandson of the *Decemvir*, and Son of another *Appius Claudius*, who was Military Tribune in the 329th Year from the Foundation of *Rome*. This Conformity of both Names, which

we so often meet with in the Senators of the *Claudian* Family, shows that they were all the Eldest Sons of their House, according to the Practice of *Rome*, where the Eldest Son always bore the same Name as his Father ; whereas the younger were distinguished by Names, either from the Order of their Birth, or from the Time or Hour in which they were named. *Appius* stay'd at *Rome* to curb the *Tribunes*, and to suppress the usual Seditions of the People ; *Camillus* in Quality of Military *Tribune*, and afterwards as *Dictator*, brought this War to a happy Issue.

*Tear of  
Rome,  
348.*

We may judge of the Strength of the Place by the Length of the Siege, which lasted Ten whole Years, with various Success. The *Roman* Generals, rather than discontinue it, built Lodgments to defend the Soldiers against the Severities of Winter. The *Tribunes* had no sooner heard of this, but they immediately made it a Pretence to raise their common Outcry against the Senate. They said in every Assembly, That indeed they always feared, the Gifts of the Senate concealed some hidden Poison : That this new Pay, which they valued themselves so much upon, was only a Bait which the *Patricians* had made use of to deceive the People : That indeed it had been the Price of their Liberty : That the Military *Tribunes*, by detaining the Soldiers in the Camp during Winter, had visibly no other End, but to deprive the People's Party of the Help of their Votes : That the Senate and *Patricians* would now reign despotically in all the Assemblies : But that they ought to make them know, that they govern'd Men who were free ; and that the People should order the Generals to bring the Troops back to *Rome* at the End of every Campaign, that the poor Citizen who daily expos'd his Life in the Defence of his Country, might enjoy a little Rest, have the Pleasure of seeing his House, his Wife and his Children,

dren, and give his Voice in the Election of the Magistrates.

*Appius*, whom the Military *Tribunes* had left at *Rome*; to oppose the Measures of the *Tribunes* of the People, being informed of these seditious Speeches, called an Assembly, and complained at first with a great deal of Gentleness and Moderation, That the *Forum* was become the public Rendezvous of all the mutinous Spirits, and the Theatre of all Seditions. That they publicly despised the Senate, the Magistrates, and the Laws: And that the *Tribunes* of the People had now nothing farther to do, but to go into the very Camp to corrupt the Army, and draw it away from its Obedience to its Generals. He reproached them, That they studied nothing but how to break off all Union between the several Orders of the State: That they were the only Authors of all Divisions; That they were every Day fomenting them by their seditious Harangues; and that, greater Enemies to *Rome* than the *Veientes* themselves, they matter'd little how the Siege went, provided they hinder'd the *Patrician* Generals from obtaining Glory in it. "We should either not have undertaken this Siege, added he, or we should continue it. Shall we abandon our Camp, our Legions, the Forts we have erected from Distance to Distance, our Towers, our Mantelets and our Gabions; and so have all the same Works to begin again the next Summer? But who will promise your *Tribunes*, who give you such wholesome Advice, that all *Tuscany*, sacrificing the Aversion they have for the King of the *Veientes* to the true Interest of their Country, will not take Arms, and come to their Assistance? Can you so much as doubt that the *Veientes*, during the Intermision of the Siege, will put Troops and Ammunition into the Town? Who can assure you, that they will not even be before,

Liv. l. 5.

c. 3.

Plut. in

Cam. Oros.

l. 2. c. 19.

" hand with you the next Year ; and that grow'd  
 " stronger, and provoked by the Ravage we have  
 " made of their Lands, they will not come and  
 " plunder ours ? But what Contempt will it not  
 " bring upon the Republic, if the Nations border-  
 " ing upon *Rome*, who are now jealous of her  
 " Greatness, shall find that your Generals, fet-  
 " ter'd by the new Laws of your *Tribunes*, dare  
 " not finish a Siege, nor keep the Field a Mo-  
 " ment after the fine Weather is over ? Whereas  
 " nothing will make the *Roman* People more  
 " dreadful, than their showing that no Severity  
 " of the Seasons is able to put a Stop to their En-  
 " terprizes ; and that they are firmly resolv'd to  
 " conquer, or die at the Foot of the Enemies Ran-  
 " parts ?

The People prejudic'd by their *Tribunes*, gave no  
 great heed to *Appian's* Representations ; but a Loss  
 which the *Romans* suffer'd at the Siege, brought  
 about what that prudent Discourse could not effect.  
 The *Volentes* in a Sally surpriz'd the Besiegers,  
 slew a great Number of them, set Fire to their  
 Machines, and ruin'd most of their Works. This  
 News, instead of depressing the Spirits of the *Ro-*  
*mans*, inspir'd them with new Ardor for the Con-  
 tinuation of the Siege. The Knights, whom the  
 State was to furnish with Horses, offer'd to mount  
 themselves at their own Expence. The People af-  
 ter their Example cried out, they were ready to  
 march to supply the Places of the Soldiers that  
 were lost, and swore they would never leave the  
 Camp till the City was taken. The Senate gave  
 great Praises to all. It was resolv'd to allow Pay  
 to all the Volunteers that would go to the Siege.  
 At the same Time they settled a particular Pay  
 for the Horse, and this was the first Time that the  
 Cavalry was paid out of the Publick Treasury.

The *Tribunes* of the People, saw, not without  
 great Uneasiness and Jealousy, that this Loss, in-  
 stead

*Year of*  
*Rome,*  
 350.  
*Plut. in*  
*Camillo.*  
*v. Orol.*  
*l. 2. c. 19.*

*Liv. l. 4.*  
*c. 7.*

Head of raising the Complaints and Murmurs of the Multitude, had only increased the Warmth and Courage of all Orders and Degrees, for the carrying on of the Siege. But a new Defeat furnished them with an Occasion and Pretence of inveighing against the Senate with Impunity.

The *Capenates* and *Falisci*, People of *Tuscany*, <sup>Tear of</sup> nearest to the *Veientes*, and consequently most concerned in their Preservation, armed privately. <sup>Rome,</sup> 351. They joined their Troops, surprized and attacked the Enemies Camp. *L. Virginus*, and *M. Sergius*, both Military *Tribunes*, commanded at this Siege. The Jealousy, so common in an equal Authority, had set them at Variance: Each had a Body of Troops under his Command, which were divided as it were into Two different Camps. The Enemies on one Side fall upon that of *Sergius*, at the same Time that the Besieged make a Sally by Agreement, and attack the other. The Soldier who thinks he has all the Forces in *Tuscany*, to deal with, is dismay'd, fights faintly, and rather to defend his own Life, than to attack his Enemy's. It is not long before he seeks his Safety in a hasty Flight; all give Way, and the Rout becomes general. None but *Virginus* could save his Colleague's Army. His Troops were ranged in Order of Battel; but the Animosity between those Two Generals was so great, that *Sergius* chose rather to perish, than to ask the Assistance of one he hated. *Virginus* on his Side, overjoyed to see him beaten, refused his own Officers leave to go to his Succour, unless he would send and beg it. The Enemy improved the Division of the Leaders: *Sergius's* Army fled in Disorder to *Rome*, which was but Six Leagues distant from the Camp, and *Sergius* went thither himself, not so much to justify his own Conduct, as to set forth the Blackness of that of his Colleague.



The Senate in this Confusion, sent Orders to *Virginius* to leave his Army under the Command of his Lieutenants, and repair immediately to *Rome*, to answer to the Complaints which his Colleague preferred against him. The Dispute was managed with great Acrimony, and the Two *Military Tribunes* ran into *Invectives* against each other. The Senate finding them equally guilty, the one in not having fought with sufficient Courage, and the other in suffering his Fellow Citizens to perish, rather than save his Colleague, decreed that all the *Tribunes* of that Year should lay down their Dignity, and the People immediately proceed to a new Election. The Two *Tribunes* at first argued against paying Obedience to this Decree, under pretence that their Authority was not expired. The *Tribunes* of the People laid hold of this Occasion to enlarge their Power, and threatened the Two Generals that they would cause them to be imprisoned, if they did not obey the Senate's Orders. *Servilius Ahala*, the first *Military Tribune*, full of Indignation at the haughty manner in which these *Plebeian* Magistrates treated his Colleagues: "You have no Right, says he, to threaten those who are superior to you in Dignity. My Colleagues are not ignorant of the Submission we all owe to the Decrees of the Senate, and if they are refractory to its Commands, I will name a Dictator, who by his absolute Authority shall be able without your Interposition, to force them to quit their Office.

The Two *Tribunes* finding it impossible to resist this unanimous Consent of the Senate, abdicated their Magistracy, and the People proceeded to a new Election.

But the *Tribunes* of the People were not satisfied with the Deposal of those Two Generals; and while those who were chosen in their Room, led a new Army to the Siege of *Vejj*, those *Plebeian* Magistrates

gistrates summoned *Sergius* and *Virginus* before the Assembly of the People. They forgot nothing upon this Occasion, that might inflame the Minds of the Multitude, not only against the Two Persons accused, but also against the whole Body of the Senate.

They represented with as much Art as Malice, that the sole Aim of that Society was to diminish the Number of the People, to weaken its Power, to hinder its Assemblies, or at least to defer the convening of them. That the late Misfortune ought not to be look'd upon as those common Misfortunes which may happen to the very greatest Captains, but that it was contrived in consequence of this secret Design laid to destroy the People: That the Generals, after having spent several Campaigns in the Siege or Blockade of *Vaij*, had suffered their Gabions to be burnt, their Forts to be taken, and all their Works to be ruined, only to prolong the War: That after this, *Sergius's* Camp was sold to the Enemy: That this General, rather than desire Aid of his Colleague, had chose to let his Soldiers be cut to Pieces; and that *Virginus* beheld this Rout of the Legions as a Victory, which without his drawing his Sword, delivered him and his Party from so many Enemies as there were *Plebeians* in those Troops: That after so infamous an Action, the Senate yet fancied they could impose upon the People, by obliging the Two Generals to leave the Command of their Armies: But that the People ought to shew by a severe Punishment of the Criminals, that they were not to be deceived by so gross an Artifice. That in order to prevent the ill Designs of the Nobility for the future, they should fill the *Military Tribune* with brave *Plebeians*, who would be equally watchful for the Defence of their Country, and the particular Preservation of the People.

*Year of  
Rome,  
352.*

*Sergius*

*Sergius* in vain alledged in his Excuse, the ordinary Chance of War, the Terror that was spread through his Army, and the Treachery of his Colleague, who had abandoned, and as it were given him up to the Enemy, who attack'd him on Two different Sides. No Distinction was made between Misfortune and Guilt; he was condemned to pay a great Fine as well as *Virginus*, tho' he pleaded that it was unjust to punish him for the Faults of his Colleague.

Liv. l. 5.  
c. 12.

The *Tribunes* of the People, taking occasion of the general Animosity they had raised against the *Patricians*, never left representing to the Multitude in all the Assemblies, that the Time was come to free themselves from the Tyranny of the Senate. That they should take the Sovereign Authority, and chief Dignities of the Republick, out of the Hands of the *Sergii* and *Virginii*, and give them to *Plebeians* worthy of those honourable Employments. They exclaim in Publick, that the Liberty of the People was in Danger. They make Interest, and form Cabals in private: In a word, they so bestir themselves, that in the Two next Elections, they get *Plebeians* named for Military *Tribunes*. A new Revolution in the Government of the Republick, but whose Consequences were fatal to the State in several Advantages, which the Enemies of Rome gained over the Armies commanded by *Plebeians*.

Fears of  
Rome,  
353, 354.

A contagious Distemper succeeded these Defeats. The People in Consternation had Recourse to the Gods; the Temples were crowded Day and Night with Men, Women and Children imploring their Clemency. The *Dumvirs*, after consulting the Sacred Books of the *Sybil*s, ordered the *Lectisternium*. This was an antient Ceremony, in which they took the Statues of the Gods down from their Niches; they for Eight Days together served them up magnificent Repasts, as if they had been capable

Fear of  
Rome,  
354.  
Liv. l. 5.  
c. 13. Aug.  
de Civ. l.  
3. c. 17.

ble of making use of them; the Citizens, each according to his Ability kept open House. They invited indifferently Friends and Foes; Strangers were particularly well received; they set the Prisoners at Liberty; and it was a Point of Conscience, not to take them up again after the Festival was over.

The *Patricians* taking Advantage of this Disposition in Mens Minds, turned these Misfortunes of the Republick into a Religious Mystery. They ascribed them to the Wrath of the Gods, who, they said, were displeased, that in the last Elections sufficient Regard was not had to the Nobility, who alone had Inspection over Sacrifices. These Reasons, much more powerful than all the Orations of the *Tribunes* of the People, prevailed over the Minds of the Multitude. Every Body looked upon the Misfortunes of the Republick, as the infallible Interpreters of the Will of the Gods; and for fear of provoking them more, they failed not, in the next Election to restore the *Military Tribunate* to the *Patricians* alone.

The Siege went on but slowly, and the whole Power of the *Roman Arms* was spent in ravaging the Lands of the Enemy. The War was yet more unsuccessful the following Year; and they oblig'd the *Military Tribunes*, with whom they were dissatisfied, to abdicate their Dignity, under Colour that some Ceremony had been omitted in the *Auspices* taken for their Election: A Pretence which the Two Parties made Use of by Turns, to depose the Magistrates they did not like. They had recourse upon this Occasion, as in a publick Calamity, to a *Dictator*. *M. Furius Camillus* was rais'd to this Supreme Dignity; which he owed only to the Need wherein the Republick thought she stood of so great a Captain: A Time when the superior Merit, without making the least Interest, naturally falls into its right Place. It had already been

Year of  
Rome,  
355.

356.

357;

observed, that in all the Employments which *Camillus* had shared with Colleagues, his great Valour and extraordinary Capacity had gained him the Honour of the whole Command, as if he had governed in Chief; and it was afterwards found, that during his Dictatorship, he ruled with so much Gentleness and Moderation, that the Officers who obey'd his Orders, thought they took Part in his Authority. He named for General of the Horse *P. Cornelius Scipio*; and at the same Time raised a great Body of Troops. The People strove who should first lift themselves under his Banners; every Body was for going to the Wars with a General whom Victory had never deserted. The Allies themselves sent to offer him a strong Supply of their choicest Youth. The Dictator immediately repaired to the Camp before *Veij*: His mere Presence restored the Military Discipline, which had been very much slacken'd since the Division and Defeat of the Military Tribunes. The Place was more straitly inclosed, and the Forts repaired which the Enemy had ruined. He then marched against the *Falisci* and the *Capenates*, whom he defeated in a pitch'd Battel; and after this Victory, which left him the Country open, he returned to the Siege, and pushed it on with great Vigor.

The Besieged defended themselves with no less Courage. The Dictator fearing he should not carry by Assault or open Force, a Town which had a whole Army for its Garrison, had Recourse to Mines and Sapping. His Soldiers, by hard Labour, and without being discovered by the Besieged, opened themselves a private Passage to the very Castle, thence they spread themselves through the Town; one Body fell upon the Rear of those that still defended the Walls; another broke down the Gates; and the whole Army rushed into the Place. The unhappy *Veientes* felt the first Fury of the Conqueror. They spared only those whom they

Plut. in  
vita Cam.  
Diod.  
l. 24.

357th Year  
of Rome.

## Book VII. *in the ROMAN REPUBLIC.*

they found unarm'd, and the Soldier, yet more covetous than cruel, fell to plunder with the Leave of the General.

The Length of the Siege, the Dangers there had been in it, the Uncertainty of Success, all this made the News of the taking this Town be received at *Rome* with the utmost Transport and Joy. All the Temples were filled with *Roman Ladies*, and Four Days were set apart for a Publick Thanksgiving to the Gods; which had never before been practised in the Republick upon the greatest Success. The very Triumph of the Dictator had something particular in it. *Camillus* appeared in a stately Chariot drawn by Four Horses, all Milk-white.

This Singularity displeased the People. In the midst of the Praises they gave the Dictator, they could not, without a secret Indignation, behold this Chief Magistrate, affecting a Pomp formerly reserved to the Royalty; and since the Expulsion of the Kings, consecrated only to the Worship of the Gods. This diminished their Esteem and Affection for *Camillus*: And the Resistance he afterwards made against some Proposals of one of the *Tribunes*, finished the making him odious to the Multitude.

*T. Sicinius Dentatus*, Tribune of the People, proposed to make a Second *Rome* of the City of *Veij*, by sending thither One Half of the Senate, Knights, and People. He represented its Situation, Strength, Magnificence of its Buildings, and its Territory more extensive and fruitful than that of *Rome* herself: And he added, that the *Romans* might the more easily by this Means preserve their Conquests.

The People, always fond of Novelties, received these Proposals with great Demonstrations of Joy. The Affair, according to Custom, was carried first before the Senate. *Camillus*, who was but just out  
of

of his Dictatorship, oppos'd it strongly. Not but that it had been a great Honour to him, to see so great a Town that he had conquer'd, inhabited by *Romans*; and he might consider, that the more Inhabitants it had, the more Witnesses there would be of his Glory. But he thought it was a Crime to carry the *Roman* People into a Captive Land, and to prefer the Country of the Vanquish'd to that which was Victor. He added, it seem'd to him impossible, that Two such powerful Cities should long continue in Peace, live under the same Laws, and form but One Republick. That these Two Cities would by degrees grow Two different States; which, after having made War upon one another, would at length become a Prey to their Common Enemies.

*Tear of  
Rome,  
259.*

The Senators and principal of the Nobility, mov'd with the Remonstrances of this Chief Citizen of the Republick, declared they would die in the Presence of the *Roman* People, before they would leave their Country. All of them, both Old and Young, went to the Place where the People was assembled; and mixing with the Crowd, conjured them with Tears in their Eyes, not to abandon that August City, which was one Day to be Mistress of the whole World, and to which the Gods had made such Glorious Promises. They then pointed to the Capitol, and asked the *Plebeians*, if they could have the Heart to leave *Jupiter*, *Vesta*, *Romulus*, and the other Guardian Deities of the City, for a *Sicinius*, who, by this fatal Division, only sought to ruin the Commonwealth. In a word, these prudent Senators having taken the People by Motives of Religion, they could not withstand them. They yielded, though unwillingly, to that inward Power, which is constantly produced by the Prejudices of Education. *Sicinius's* Proposal was rejected by Plurality of Voices; and the Senate, as a kind of Reward to the People for  
their

their Compliance, decreed, by the Advice of *Camillus*, that Seven Acres of the Lands of the *Veientes*, should be distributed to every Master of a Family; and in order to induce free Persons to marry, and to enable them to raise Children, that might in Time be serviceable to the Commonwealth, a Proportion should be allowed to them also.

360th Year  
of Rome.  
Liv. l. 5.  
c. 30.

The People, charmed with this Liberality, showered great Praises upon the Senate. Concord again flourish'd between those Two Orders; nay, the People, in Deference to the Senate, consented the Two following Years, that the Consulate should be restored. Under the Government of these Patrician Magistrates, the *Æqui* were conquer'd; and the *Falisci* submitted to the Republick. All these Advantages were ascribed to the Wisdom and Valour of *Camillus*. They were so many fresh Injuries with respect to the *Tribunes*, who could not forgive him this Union between the People and Senate, which they looked upon as his Work, and the Extinction of their Authority.

360, 361

They would gladly have eased themselves of Him, who alone was more formidable to them than the whole Senate. But it was a difficult Thing to attack a Man revered by his Fellow-Citizens for his Virtues, adored by the Soldier, and never found to have any other Interest at Heart beside that of his Country.

His Piety soon after furnished them with a Pretence which their Envy and Hatred could not help them to. That General, just before he order'd his Troops to mount the Assault at the Siege of *Vej*, had made a Vow to consecrate the Tenth Part of the Booty to *Apollo*. But when the City was won, amidst the Disorder and Confusion of the Plunder, he remembered not his Vow. And when the Tenderness of his Conscience recalled the

the



the Memory of it, every Thing was gone. There was no possible Way of obliging the Soldiers to restore Effects which they had either consumed, or otherwise parted with. In this Perplexity the Senate proclaimed, that all who had any Fear of the Gods, should themselves compute the Value of their Booty, and bring the Tenth Part of that Value to the Questors, in order to make an Offering worthy of the Piety and Majesty of the *Roman* People.

This Contribution, exacted at a wrong Time, irritated the People against *Camillus*. Their *Tribunes* greedily seiz'd this Occasion of falling upon him. They recalled the Memory of his Triumph, in which, contrary to Custom, he appeared in a Chariot drawn by Four White Horses. They added, that this haughty Patrician, whose Policy it was to keep the People always in Indigence, feigned to have vowed to the Gods the Tenth Part of the Plunder at *Veij*, only for a Pretence of Tithing the Wealth of the Soldier, and dreining the People. Hereupon, one of those *Tribunes*, called *Lucius Apulleius*, summoned him before the Assembly of the People, and accused him of having embezzled out of the Pillage at *Veij*, certain Brafs Gates that were seen in his House.

362d Year  
of Rome.

Plut. in  
Cam.

*Camillus*, surprized at this new kind of Accusation, assembled his Friends, and the Chief of his Tribe, at his own House; and conjured them not to suffer their General to be condemn'd upon so weak a Pretence. These *Plebeians*, prepossess'd by their *Tribunes*, after having taken Counsel among themselves, reply'd, that they would willingly pay the Fine to which he should be condemn'd; but that it was not in their Power to get him acquitted. *Camillus* detesting their Weakness, resolv'd rather to banish himself from *Rome* of his own Accord, than to have the Shame of Condemnation affixed to his Name. He at his De-  
parture

parture embraced his Wife and Children; and without being follow'd by any Body of Note, came to the Gate of the City. It is related, that he then stopp'd, and turning towards the Capitol, pray'd the Gods, that his ungrateful Countrymen might quickly repent their having repay'd his Services with so sharp an Outrage; and that their own Calamities might oblige them to recal him. He retired to *Ardea*, a City not far from *Rome*, where he heard that he was fined Fifteen Thousand *asses*, which may amount to about 150 Crowns of our Money.

*Year of Rome,*  
362.  
*Liv. l. 5.*  
*Plur. in vi.*  
*ta Camilli.*  
*Val. Max.*  
*l. 5. c. 3.*  
*Polyb.*

It was believ'd that the Imprecations of this Great Man call'd down the Anger of the Gods, and brought on the bloody War which the *Gauls* made against the *Romans*. At least these Two Events followed each other so close, that the People, always superstitious, ascribed the Loss of *Rome* to the Banishment of *Camillus*.

The first Irruption of the *Gauls* into *Italy*, happened in the Reign of *Tarquin* the *Ancient*, about the Year of the World, Three Thousand Four Hundred and Sixteen, and from the Foundation of *Rome* the Hundred and Sixty Fifth. *Ambigatus* then reigned over the whole *Celtic Gaul*. This Prince finding those great Provinces too much crowded with Inhabitants, set Two of his Nephews, *Sigovesus* and *Bellovesus*, at the Head of a flourishing Youth, whom he obliged to look out for new Settlements Abroad: Either that it was the common Custom which was still practis'd in the *North* to the very Tenth Century; or that *Ambigatus* had recourse to these Military Colonies, to get rid of an active, restless, and turbulent Number of Youth: Be this as it will, the Chance of *Augury* sent *Sigovesus* beyond the *Rhine*; where taking his Way thro' the Forest of *Hircinia*, he opened himself a Passage by Force of Arms, and possessed himself of *Bohemia*, and the the neigh-

*Liv. Diod.*  
*Sicul. Plur.*  
*Appian. in*  
*Celt.*

bouring Provinces. *Bellovesus* turned to *Italy*, and after having passed the *Alps*; the *Senones*, and People of *Mans*, who were most numerous in his Army, settled in those fine Provinces that are between the Mountains of the *Alps*, those of the *Apennine*, the River *Tesin*, and the River *Jesi*, which falls into the Sea on this Side *Ancona*. There they established themselves, and to them is ascribed the Origin and Foundation of the Cities of *Milan*, *Verona*, *Padua*, *Brescia*, *Como*, and several other Towns in that Country, which subsist at this Day. The first War they had with the *Romans*, was about the Year of the World 3616, Two Hundred Years after their Passage into *Italy*. They were then besieging *Clusum*, a City of *Tuscany*. The Inhabitants fearing to fall into the Hands of these *Barbarians*, implored the Assistance of the *Romans*, though they had no other Reason to expect it, but that in the last War, they did not take Arms in favour of the *Veientes*, as most of the other Nations of *Hetruria* had done. The Senate, who had no particular Alliance with that City, only sent an Embassy of Three young *Patricians*, all Three Brothers, and of the *Fabian* Family, to propose an Accommodation between the Two Nations. These Ambassadors being arrived at the Camp of the *Gauls*, were conducted into the Council. They offered the Mediation of *Rome*, and demanded of *Brennus*, the King or Leader of these *Transalpine Gauls*, what Pretensions a strange People could have upon *Tuscany*; or whether they in particular had received Injury from those of *Clusum*? *Brennus* answered proudly, that his Right lay in his Sword, and that all Things belong'd to the brave and valiant; but that without having Recourse to this Primitive Law of Nature, he had a just Complaint against the *Clusians*, who having much more Lands than they could cultivate, had refused to give him those they left untilld.

“ They

Year of  
Rome,  
362.

“ They do us ( added he ) the same Wrong  
 “ that you formerly receiv'd from the *Sabines*,  
 “ the *Albans*, the *Fidenates*, and that you now  
 “ daily suffer from the *Æqui*, the *Volsci*, and all  
 “ your Neighbours in general, whom Sword in  
 “ Hand you deprived of the best Part of their  
 “ Territory ; therefore cease to interpose in behalf  
 “ of the *Clusians*, for fear your Example should  
 “ teach us to defend those whom you have stripped  
 “ of their ancient Inheritance.

The *Fabij*, enraged at so haughty an Answer, dissembled their Resentment ; and, under Pretence of wanting to confer with the Magistrates of *Clusum*, in quality of Mediators, desir'd Leave to go into the Town. But they were no sooner there, than instead of acting according to their Character, and performing the Office of Ministers of Peace, these Ambassadors, too young for an Employment that requires the utmost Prudence, suffering themselves to be carried away by their Courage, and the Fire of Youth, stirred up the Inhabitants to a vigorous Defence. To set them an Example, they put themselves at their Head in a Sally, and *Q. Fabius*, the Chief of the Embassy, slew with his own Hand, one of the principal Captains of the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, justly provok'd at such a Proceeding, acted not like a Barbarian ; he sent a Herald to *Rome*, to demand that those Ambassadors, who had so manifestly violated the Law of Nations, should be deliver'd up to him ; and in case of Refusal, the same Herald had Orders to declare War against the *Romans*.

The Herald being come to *Rome*, and having declared his Message, the Affair was put into Deliberation : The wisest of the Senate were for punishing those who had so manifestly violated the Law of Nations ; or at least, for trying to appease the *Gauls* with Money. But the youngest of that Body, drove on by their Courage, rejected this Ad-

Year of  
Rome,  
363.

vice, as unworthy of the *Roman* Name. The Affair was referred to the Assembly of the People; and *Fabius Ambustus*, the Father of the Ambassadors, who, though a Patrician, had found Means to render himself agreeable to the People, made so strong an Interest, that they not only sent back the Herald without Satisfaction, but also chose his Sons Military Tribunes and Leaders of the Army, which they resolved to send against the *Gauls*. *Brennus*, at the Return of his Herald, removed his Arms and his Resentment from the *Clusians* to the *Romans*, and marched directly to *Rome*. His Army was numerous; all fled before him; the Inhabitants of the Towns and Villages left their Habitations at his Approach; but he stopp'd nowhere, and declared, his Design was against none but the *Romans*.

The Military Tribunes marched out of *Rome*, at the Head of Forty Thousand Men. Their Troops were not fewer in Number than those of *Brennus*; but there was more Order and Obedience in the Army of the *Gauls*. The *Roman* Generals, since the Disgrace and Banishment of *Camillus*, durst not act with full Authority, but were forced to wink at the want of Discipline, and the Licentiousness of their Soldiers, instead of commanding them with that absolute Authority which is requisite in War. It was also observed, That these Tribunes, before they left *Rome*, did not sacrifice to the Gods, and neglected to consult the *Auspices*; Essential Ceremonies among a People full of Superstition, and that drew their Courage and Confidence from the propitious Signs which the *Augurs* gave them. But nothing did more Prejudice to the *Romans*, than the Number of their Commanders. There was in their Army Six Military Tribunes, all with equal Authority, most of them young, and Men of more Valour than Capacity. They advanc'd boldly against the *Gauls*, whom they

they met near the River *Allia*, Half a Day's Journey from *Rome*. Each Nation immediately drew up its Army. The *Romans*, that they might not be surrounded by the Enemy, extended their Wings, and placed their best Soldiers on the Right and Left, which weaken'd the Centre. It was against this Part that the *Gauls* bent their chief Forces: They soon pierced and broke the Cohorts of which it consisted. The Two Wings finding themselves cut off from the Army, and their Centre possess'd by the Enemy, took to Flight, without drawing their Swords. It was not so much a Battel, as a general Rout; and in this Disorder and Affright, the Soldiers, instead of returning to *Rome*, (which was but Threescore *Stadia* off) threw themselves into *Veij*. Others were drowned, as they endeavour'd to swim cross the *Tyber*: Many, pursued by the Enemy, fell beneath the Sword of the Conqueror. Some few, who escaped their Rage, got to *Rome*, whither they carried Terror and Consternation. The Senate thinking the whole Army had been cut to Pieces, and not having Forces sufficient to defend the City, threw into the *Capitol* all the Men that were fit to bear Arms. They carried into it all the Provisions they could get together; and that they might last the longer, admitted none into the Place, but what were capable of defending it. Most of the old Men, Women and Children, seeing themselves without Governors, or any Scheme to follow, hid themselves in the Fields, and dispersed among the neighbouring Towns. But the old Senators, rather than bear a Load of Misery and feeble old Age among Strangers, resolv'd to bury themselves under the Ruins of their Country, and to end their Days in a City which they could no longer defend. Several Priests joined with them, and generously devoted themselves to Death like those illustrious old Men. This Sort of Self-Devotion was a Point of

*Tear of  
Rome!  
363.  
Liv. l. 5.  
Plut. in  
Camillo.*

Religion; and the *Romans* believed, that the voluntary Sacrifice which their Leaders made of their Lives to the Infernal Gods, brought Disorder and Confusion among the Enemy. These venerable Men having put on, some their Sacred Habits, and some their Consular Robes, and all the Marks of their Dignity, placed themselves at the Doors of their Houses, in Chairs of Ivory, where they expected the Enemy and Death with the greatest Constancy.

Plut. in  
Cam.

If after the Defeat at *Allia*, the *Gauls* had march'd strait to *Rome*, the Republick had been lost, and the *Roman* Name entinguish'd. But those *Barbarians* having spent almost Three Days in sharing their Booty, the Time they linger'd away in this Enjoyment of the Fruits of their Victory, lost them the whole Advantage they had gained by it. The *Romans*, during this Delay, sent away their Wives and Children: The Senators, and all that were capable of bearing Arms, retir'd into the *Capitol*, where they could not easily be forced. *Brennus* enter'd *Rome*, and made himself Master of it about the Year 363, from its Foundation. The Gates were open, the Walls without Defence, and the Houses without Inhabitants. This Solitude in a very populous City, made them apprehensive of some Ambush. But as he understood his Trade, and was both a Soldier and a Captain, he immediately secured his Conquest by strong Bodies of Guards, which he set in the public Places and chief Streets.

The first Spectacle that offer'd it self to his Sight, and most drew his Attention, were those venerable old Men, who (as we said before) had devoted themselves to Death, and who expected it at the Doors of their Houses. Their magnificent Habits, their white Beards, an Air of Greatness and Constancy, the Silence they kept; all this at first surprized the *Gauls*, and inspired them with  
the

the same Respect, as they would have had for so many Gods. They durst not come near them; but one Soldier, bolder than the rest, having out of Curiosity touch'd the Beard of one of the old Senators, that generous old Man, not being us'd to such Familiarity, gave him a Blow on the Head with his Ivory Stick. The Soldier, in Revenge, immediately killed him; and at the same Time, the other old Men and the Priests were slaughter'd like him in their Chairs. All those Inhabitants that had not been able to escape, were put to the Sword, without Distinction of Age or Sex. *Brennus* then invested the *Capitol*, and summon'd those that had shut themselves up in it to surrender: But finding them immoveable, he endeavour'd to scale the Place. The *Romans*, who fought with great Advantage, drove back his Troops, and slew a great Number of them. *Brennus* found he should never be able to take a Place which Nature had so well fortified, otherwise than by Famine: But in order to be revenged of the *Romans* for their Resistance, he resolv'd to destroy *Rome* entirely. His Soldiers, by his Command, set Fire to the Houses, demolish'd the Temples, and public Edifices, and razed the Walls. Thus, instead of a City already famous throughout all *Italy*, nothing was to be seen, but a few little Hills cover'd with Ruins, and a wide Waste, in which *Brennus* encamp'd that Part of his Army that invested the *Capitol*: The other Part was sent out to Forage.

These Troops, who imagined they kept the whole Country in Subjection by the mere Terror of their Arms, preserv'd neither Order nor Discipline in their Marches. The Soldiers rambled different ways to Plunder; and those that kept in a Body, spent whole Days in Drinking: Neither Officer nor Soldier dreamt of any other Enemies, but those who were block'd up in the *Capitol*.



*Tear of  
Rome,  
363.*

*Camillus*, upon his Exile, was retired to *Ardea*, as we said before. This great Man, more afflicted at the Calamities of his Country, than at his own Banishment, undertook to revenge her upon those *Barbarians*. He easily persuaded the Youth of the City to follow him ; and, with the Allowance of the Magistrates, he marched out of *Ardea* in a very dark Night, and surprized the *Gauls* drowned in Wine. He made a dreadful Slaughter of them ; and those that escaped under Shelter of the Night, fell next Day into the Hands of the Peasants, who gave them but small Quarter.

The News of this Defeat was quickly spread all over *Italy*. The *Romans* that had taken Refuge in *Veij*, and all that were dispersed about in the Villages, assembled together. There was not one but condemn'd himself for the Exile of *Camillus*, as if he had been the Author of it ; and looking upon that great Man as their last Resource after the Destruction of *Rome*, they resolved to chuse him for their Leader. " Why, said they, must the *Arde-*  
" *ates*, who are Strangers, cover themselves with  
" Glory under the Conduct of *Camillus*, while his  
" own Fellow-Citizens wander about like wretched  
" Outlaws in the Heart of their own Country ?"  
All will obey him ; All will fight under his Banners. They presently send him Deputies, who beseech him to take into his Protection the fugitive *Romans*, and the Wrecks of the Defeat at *Allia*.

*Camillus* at first excused himself from accepting any Command, upon account of his being an Exile. " *Rome* is no more, answered the Deputies ;  
" and we can now no longer reckon our selves Ci-  
" tizens of a City that is absolutely destroyed.  
" You see before you the mournful Remains of a  
" State, that flourish'd for above Three Ages !  
" One single Battel determin'd Her Fate, and  
" ours ;

“ours; and there is no *Asylum* left us, but in your  
“Camp.”

*Camillus* still obedient to the Laws, would not yet assent; but made them agree to send first to *Rome*, to know whether the *Capitol* still held out; and in that Case, to take the Orders of the Senate which was there inclosed. The Commission was difficult: The Place was surrounded on every Side by the Enemies Troops. Nevertheless a young Roman, call'd *Pontius Cominius*, undertook it, and through a Thousand Dangers arrived at the *Capitol*. The Senate was immediately assembled: This Deputy gave them an Account of *Camillus's* Victory, and, on the Part of all the Romans that were disperfed, demanded that great Captain for their General. There was not much Time Year of Rome, 363. spent in Debates upon it: The Senate and Soldiers, who represented the People, with one Voice, declared him *Dictator*. *Pontius* was immediately sent away again with the Decree of his Nomination; and that young Man got back to the Camp with the same good Fortune, with which he had ascended to the *Capitol*.

*Camillus*, from Banishment, was raised to the highest Dignity of his Country. He was acknowledged *Dictator*, and Sovereign Magistrate of the Romans. In any other Captain, this had been but a vain Title: They gave him with this Honour, neither Troops, nor Money to raise any. He made good all these Defects by his Courage, and that great Reputation which he had so justly gained. His new Dignity was no sooner known, but Soldiers flock'd from all Parts to his Camp; and he quickly saw himself at the Head of above Forty Thousand Romans, or Allies, who all thought themselves invincible under so great a General.

While he was arming, and taking Measures to raise the Blockade of the *Capitol*, some *Gaulish* Soldiers having found in the Mountain whereon that  
Fort

Fort is situated, the Footsteps of *Pontius's* Passage made their Report of it to *Brennus*; who immediately laid a Design to surprize that Place the same way. He chose out of his Army such Soldiers as had dwelt in Mountainous Countries, and been accustomed from their Youth to clamber Precipices. These having received their Orders, set out in the Night, under Cover of the Dark, climbed up from Rock to Rock, and with much Difficulty, and more Danger, advanced by Degrees, lending each other a Hand, till they arrived at the Foot of the Wall, which on that Side was built very low, because so craggy a Place seem'd safe from all Attacks.

The Centinel was asleep, and the *Gauls* began to scale the Rampart, when some Geese consecrated to *Juno*, and which, out of a Principle of Religion, were kept as Sacred Birds, awaked at the Noise the *Gauls* made, and fell to Cackling. *M. Manlius*, a Consular Person, starts up at the Noise, runs to the Place, and appears first to defend the Wall. Alone he faces the Enemy; first cuts off the Hand of a *Gaul* that had raised it to strike him a Blow with his Battle-Axe, and gives another such a Shove with his Buckler, that he rowls him from the Top of the Rock to the Bottom. The whole Garison immediately hastes to the same Place. They push, they press upon the *Gauls*. *Manlius*, at the Head of the *Romans*, tumbles them one over another; they have no Place to fly, and most of them, to avoid the Sword of the Enemy, throw themselves into Precipices, so that very few regained their Camp.

The first Thing the Besieged did, after having escaped so great a Danger, was to precipitate from the Top of the Rock, the Centinel that had been found asleep; the next Business was to reward *M. Manlius*, who by his Courage and Vigilance had saved the Republick. Each Soldier gave him  
half

half a Pound of Meal, and a little Measure of Wine, which they saved out of their own Allowance. A Reward remarkable only upon Account of the scarcity of Provisions that began to be in the Place. *Brennus* despairing to become Master of the Fort any other ways than by Famine, kept it so strictly invested, that for Seven Months that the Siege had lasted, they had not been able to get in the least Supply.

The same Scarcity was felt in the Camp of the *Gauls*. Since the Dictatorship had been given to *Camillus*, that skilful General, being perfect Master of the Country, possessed himself of all the Passages. The *Gauls* durst not stir out to Forage, for fear of being cut to Pieces; so that *Brennus*, who besieged the Capitol, was besieged himself, and suffered the same Inconveniences that he gave the Besieged.

In this common Misery the Centinels of the Capitol, and those of the Enemy's Army, began to talk to one another of an Accommodation. These Discourses came by degrees to the Leaders, who were not averse to it. The Senate, who had heard nothing of *Camillus*, since they had named him Dictator, and who found themselves close pressed by Hunger, resolved to enter upon a Negotiation. *Sulpitius*, a *Military Tribune*, had the Charge of it, and agreed with *Brennus* to give him a Thousand Pound Weight of Gold, provided he would raise the Siege, and depart immediately out of the Dominions of the Republick. The Gold was brought, but when it came to be weigh'd, the *Gauls* made use of False Weights. The *Romans* cried out against this unfair Dealing; but *Brennus*, instead of redressing so plain an Abuse, openly threw his Sword and Belt into the Scale that was to weigh the Gold. *Sulpitius* enraged at so contemptuous an Insult, ask'd him the meaning of this extraordinary Behaviour: "What should

“ should it be, replied the *Barbarian* insolently,  
 “ but Woe to the conquered ? ”

During this Contest, *Camillus* was advanced to the very Gates of *Rome* with his Army. Being informed they were enter'd upon a Conference, he took with him his principal Officers, and with a strong Guard resolved to repair to the Place of Conference, to take care of his Country's Interest himself; or rather, which is more probable, to shew the Deputies of the Besieged, that he was in a Condition to bring them off, and to drive away their Besiegers.

His Army by his Command, followed him a slow Pace, and the *Gauls*, who relied upon the Faith of a Treaty of Peace, suffered the first Body of that Army to approach without Opposition.

As soon as ever *Camillus* appeared in the Assembly, the Deputies of the Senate opened to make room for him, as for the chief Magistrate of the Republick. After having given him an Account of the Treaty they had made with *Brennus*, they complained of the Wrong that Prince did them in the Execution of it: “ Carry back this Gold into the Capitol, says he to the Deputies; and you *Gauls*, added he, retire with your Scales and Weights. It is with Steel alone that the *Romans* will recover their Country.” *Brennus* surprized at this Greatness of Soul, which he had not found before in any *Roman*, represented to him that he contravened a Treaty which was concluded. But *Camillus* replied, “ That being Dictator, no body had Authority to agree upon any Thing without his Privy. The Dispute growing hot, they soon came to Arms. *Camillus*, who had foreseen it, caused his Troops to advance; the Armies charged each other with Fury. The *Romans*, notwithstanding the Disadvantages of the Place where

where they fought, drove the *Gauls* before them. *Brennus* rallies them; raises the Siege, and encamps some Miles from *Rome*. *Camillus* follows him with the same Speed; attacks him again, and defeats him: Most of the *Gauls* were slain upon the Spot, or in the Pursuit, by the Inhabitants of the adjoining Villages.

Thus *Rome*, which had been taken contrary to all Likelihood, was recovered by the Valour of an Exile, who sacrificed his Resentment to the Preservation of his Country. And as he saved it in War, and by the Valour of his Arms, he may be said to have preserved it a Second Time in Peace, after he had driven away its Enemies.

The City was destroyed, the Houses demolished, and the Walls razed, as we said before; and a Man might have sought for *Rome*, in the middle of *Rome* it self. In a Desolation so general, the *Tribunes* of the People renewed the old Proposal of settling at *Veij*, and demanded that the Senate and People should remove thither, and make that the Seat of the Empire.

They represented in all the Assemblies the extreme Misery of the People, escaped as it were quite naked from Shipwreck, exhausted by so many Misfortunes, without Strength, without Money, and unable to rebuild a whole City, which had nothing left of it, but the Ruins; while *Veij* offered the *Romans* a Place fortify'd by Art and Nature, Stately Buildings, a wholesome Air, and a fruitful Territory.

The Senate, who had made it a Point of their Religion never to leave *Rome*, made no Opposition to Motives that seemed so seasonable, but by Prayers, and soothing Intreaties. The most illustrious of that Body showed the People the Tombs of their Ancestors; others put them in Mind of the Temples that *Romulus* and *Numa* had consecrated;  
and

and forgot not the Man's Head that had formerly been dug up in making the Foundation of the Capitol, and which according to the Interpretation of the Augurs signified, that the Empire of the World was decreed for that Place, which should become the Capitol of all Nations.

*Tear of  
Rome,  
364.*

*Camillus*, who alone in this Revolution had more Authority and Credit than the whole Senate, asked some, why they had shut themselves up in the Capitol, and others, why they had fought in the open Field with so much Bravery to recover *Rome*, if they were resolved to abandon it? "Consider," said he, that by retiring to *Veij*, you will assume the Name of a conquered People, and lose that of *Romans*, together with the glorious Destiny which the Gods have affixed to it, and which with your Name, will go to the first *Barbarians* that shall get Possession of the Capitol, and who by this Change, may perhaps in Time become your Masters, and your Tyrants." These Motives, borrowed from Religion and Glory, touched a People, superstitious and haughty, who preferred the future Hopes of Empire to the present Conveniencies of Life; and a Word spoke by Chance, determined them compleatly. The Senate was assembled extraordinarily, to deliberate upon an Affair of such Importance. *L. Lucretius* was to give his Opinion first. Just as that Senator was opening his Mouth to speak his Mind, the Captain that mounted the Guard, was heard to call to the Standard-Bearer to stop there, and plant his Ensign: *For*, added the Officer, *here we must stay*.

*Plut. in  
vita Camil.*

This Voice, heard at the very Time when every Body was in pain what Resolution to take, seemed to come from Heaven: *I accept the Oment*, cried *Lucretius*, *and adore the Gods, that gave us such fortunate Advice*. The whole Senate applauded his Words. This News being spread among the

the People, changed the Disposition of every Mind; and a chance Word, by being turned into an Omen, had more Power than the wisest Reasons the Senate could urge. *Veij* was no longer mentioned; every Man strove who should build fastest, without distinguishing his own Ground from that of his Neighbour. The Republick gave a House, situate in the Capitol, to *M. Manlius*, as a Monument of his Valour, and of the Gratitude of his Fellow Citizens. But at the same Time that she rewarded so great a Piece of Service, she thought her self obliged to punish *Q. Fabius Ambustus*, who had violated the Law of Nations, and thereby occasioned the Resentment and Fury of the *Gauls*. Tear of Rome, 364.

*C. Martius Rutilus*, Tribune of the People, summoned him before the Assembly of the People, to answer for his Conduct in his Embassy. The Senate, who could not forgive him the Extremity to which he had reduced the Commonwealth, never concerned themselves in his Defence; all his Father's Credit with the People could not save him. His Relations gave out, that a sudden Death had prevented the Decision of this Affair. This was what never failed to happen to those who had Courage enough to free themselves from the Shame and Condemnation of public Punishment.

Mean while, those of the Citizens that were still dispersed in the Provinces, those that while the *Gauls* were Masters of *Rome*, had settled at *Veij*, or in the Neighbouring Towns, the Priests, the Women, the Children, all returned to *Rome*. Every one is looking out for a Place of Abode; they build on all Sides; they were allowed to take Stone where-ever they could find it. The State furnished Titles, and the Work was carried on with so much Diligence, that in less than a Year the City was quite rebuilt. Liv. l. 67



*Year of  
Rome,  
365.*

Rome seemed to rise up out of her Ashes; but scarce did her Inhabitants begin to take Breath, when new Wars called them again into the Field. The *Tuscans*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volsci*, all near Neighbours of *Rome*, and of Course her Enemies, made a League to oppress her before she had recovered her Strength. The *Latins*, and *Hernici*, Allies of the *Roman* People, but always jealous of her Greatness, engaged in the Design, and furnished their Contingent of Troops. All flattered themselves, that after so many Losses, they should find the City wholly Defenceless. They threw themselves by Consent, and on different Sides, into its Territory; and after having ravaged the Country, they joined their Troops, and marched strait to *Rome*. The *Military Tribunes* were sent out at the Head of the Legions, to hinder the Enemy from penetrating farther.

But those Generals, without striking a Blow, suffered themselves to be enclosed in Straits and narrow Passages. All they could do, was to gain the Top of the Mountain of *Mars*, where they intrenched themselves. Their Camp was indeed secure from all Attacks on the Part of the Enemy, but then it was at the same Time inaccessible to Convoys; and the Army was in Danger of perishing by Hunger.

*That in  
Camillo.*

In this Extremity they had recourse to a General, always superior to Dangers and Difficulties. *Camillus* was a Third Time named Dictator. Immediately he calls all the Citizens to take Arms, without excepting even the old Men. His very Name, and the Report of his March, filled the Enemy with Terror; they now think no more of Conquest; their whole Study is how to avoid being conquered themselves; they intrench themselves in their Camp, which they fortify with a strong Pallisade of Stakes, and by felling great Rows of Trees, which they lay before it. *Camillus*

lus approaches their Camp; having taken notice of the Disposition of it, he observed that every Morning there arose a great Wind, which blowed from the Mountains. Upon this Observation he secretly laid the Scheme of his Enterprize; one part of his Troops made a false Attack on one Side of the Camp, while on the other, some Soldiers, instructed in their General's Design, threw against that Inclosure of Wood, burning Arrows, and other combustible Materials, which with the help of the Wind that rose as usual, quickly burnt down the Palisade. The Fire catches hold of the Tents. The Soldier frightened, runs precipitately out of the Camp, without staying for the Commands of his Officer. All rush out in Crouds, and in Confusion, and fall into the Hands of the Romans, who make a terrible Slaughter of them. Camillus then sent to extinguish the Flames, in order to save the Booty, with which he rewarded his Army.

The same good Fortune attended him against the *Æqui* and the *Tuscans*. He made War upon them almost Four Years, sometimes in Quality of Dictator, and sometimes of *Military Tribune*, and in all his Wars he had the same Success, and constantly came off victorious.

*Year of Rome,*  
365.

But without dwelling upon this Run of glorious Actions which are not to my Purpose; I shall only observe, that it was no less to his Wisdom than his Valour, that he owed the Title with which his Fellow Citizens honoured him, of Restorer of his Country, and second Founder of *Rome*.

Among all the *Romans*, there was none but *Marcus Manlius*, a Consular Person, that dissented from this general Esteem. He was indeed one of the bravest Soldiers that *Rome* ever produced, but his Ambition and Vanity were yet greater than his Valour. He could not bear to see *Camillus* preferred before him in the Command of the Armies.

*Lib. l. 6.*  
*Plur. in Camillo,*  
*Year of Rome,*  
367.

*If I had not saved the Fort and Capitol, said he, was it possible for Camillus to have recovered Rome? And does not every Body know that when he drove out the Gauls, he surprized them in a Conference, and at the very Time when they relied upon the Faith of a solemn Treaty?*

By such Speeches he gave Vent to his Envy, and tried to blacken the Glory of a Man, whom he looked upon as his Rival. The Ambition, which prey'd upon him, being joined to an excessive Vanity, he took the same way that those who affect the Tyranny are used to follow. He set himself to flatter the People as much as any Tribune could have done; and not satisfied with renewing the dangerous Proposals for the Division of the Lands, the Ground or Pretence of all Seditions, he endeavoured to raise new ones, under colour of an Intention to ease the People, and give them means of discharging the Debts which most of the *Plebeians* had contracted to rebuild their Houses. He paid for some, and made himself answerable for others. He sold his Land to acquit their Debts; and declared, that so long as he had a Penny left, he would never suffer his Fellow Citizens to be laid in Irons. Sometimes he tore them out of the Hands of their Creditors, and hindered them by Force from carrying them to Prison. By this violent and seditious Behaviour, he had soon got himself a kind of Guard, made up of the People he had so assisted, most of whom had consumed their Substance in Debauchery; these never left him, and raised a continual Tumult in the *Forum*.

He represented to them sometimes in publick, and sometimes in private, that the Nobles, not satisfied with being the sole Possessors of the Lands that ought to be equally shared among all the Citizens, had also taken to their own Use, the Gold allotted for the Payment of the *Gauls*, which was raised

raised by the voluntary Contribution of all that had been shut up in the Capitol.' He added, that the same *Patricians* had farther enriched themselves with the Booty found in the Camp of *Brennus*, which alone had been sufficient to pay all the People's Debts.

This Discourse repeated upon different Occasions, and artfully sowed about by his Engines, raised the Multitude. All other Pretensions ceased; so great a Prospect as every Man's having his Debts discharged, left them no room to think of any Thing, but to draw these Riches out of the Hands of the *Patricians*; the Sedition increased from Day to Day, and its Author made it the more formidable. The Senate, in this Disorder, resolved to apply to the usual Remedy, and create a Dictator. They made use of the Pretence of a new War with the *Volsci*. But no body was ignorant, that that Magistrate would have more dangerous Enemies to deal with in the City than abroad. This Dignity fell to *A. Cornelius Cossus*, who named *Quintius Capitolinus* to be General of the Horse.

*Tear of  
Rome,  
369.  
Liv. l. 6.*

The *Volsci* were defeated; but the Sedition grew greater every Day. The Dictator was obliged to return to *Rome*. After having agreed with the Senate upon the Course he should steer, he came to the *Forum*, accompanied by the Senate, and a great Number of *Patricians*; he mounted his Tribunal, from whence he sent a Lictor to cite *Manlius* to appear before him.

*Manlius* finding himself summoned before the chief Magistrate of the Republick, made all his Adherents follow him to the *Forum*, and approached the Dictator's Tribunal with so numerous a Guard, that he was able to strike more Terror into his Judges, than he was likely to feel from their Authority. The Senate and People were separated

rated into Two different Parties, ready to come to Blows, with each their Leader at their Head.

Then the Dictator having caused Silence to be proclaimed, address'd himself to *Manlius*: "I know, says he, that you accuse the chief of the Senate, of having misapplied the Gold which was rais'd for the *Gauls*, and the Booty taken in their Camp, and that you at the same Time give the People hopes that this one Fund would be sufficient to acquit all their Debts. I command you to name this Minute, the Men you charge with having misapplied this Part of the publick Treasure; otherwise, to prevent your seducing the People any longer by Lies and vain Hopes, I ordain, That you be immediately carried to Prison, as an Incendiary and a Slanderer.

Liv. l. 6.  
Plut. in  
Cam.  
Diod. Sic.

*Manlius*, surprized at the stern and imperious Manner in which the Dictator examin'd him, without entering into any Proofs of a Fact of such Importance, replied, That he ask'd him a Question, which he could resolve as well as himself; and added, "But is not that which angers you, *A. Cornelius*, and all the Senators and *Patricians* in this Assembly, the Crowd of People wherewith I am surrounded? Why do you not rob me of this Affection, which makes you so jealous? Or at least, why do you not endeavour to share it with me? Relieve the poor Citizens that groan beneath the Weight of the Usury that sinks them: Hinder them from being cast into Chains. Take upon you the Protection of those generous *Plebeians*, that, by my Example, preserved the *Capitol*: Defend those, that with the Price of their Blood recover'd the very Spot, where now stands your Tribunal, and the Seat of your Empire. Pay for some; Answer for others; and you will see the Multitude follow you,

“ you, and give you all the Proofs they are able  
“ of their Gratitude and Love.

The *Dictator* replied, That this should not mislead him from his Question: That he commanded him to speak without so many Doublings, and to name directly those whom he accus'd of having embezzled the Gold and Spoils of the *Gauls*; or else to acknowledge before all the People, that he was no better than a Calumniator. *Manlius*, perplex'd and confounded, told him, He did not intend to give his Enemies so much Satisfaction.

Upon this, the *Dictator* commanded him to be led to Prison. The *Lictors* had no sooner laid hold of him, but *Manlius*, to stir up the People, invoked all the Gods that were revered in the *Capitol*, and at *Rome*: And turning to the Multitude, “ Can  
“ you bear, O Generous *Romans*, cried he, to see  
“ your Defender treated so unworthily, by Enemies jealous of his Glory?

Notwithstanding his Cries, the *Dictator's* Order was executed: He was carried to Prison, and nobody stirr'd to rescue him. His numerous Adherents contented themselves with showing their Sorrow by Habits of Mourning, which were never worn but in the greatest Calamities. Nay, there were some that would not cut either their Beard or Hair. The *Dictator* laid down his Dignity, after having had a Triumph for the Victory he had gained over the *Volsci*. The People express'd nothing but a deep Dejection on that Day of Joy; and they were heard to say, That the chief Ornament of this stately Triumph was wanting; and that they wonder'd they did not see in it *Manlius* laden with Chains, and bound to the *Dictator's* Chariot. There were even some, that to move the Multitude, put them in Mind, that *Manlius* had been so brave, as alone to defend the whole People against the *Gauls*; but that among so great a People, not a single Man undertook to defend

*Manlius* against the Senate. That it was a Shame to see a *Consular* treated with so much Indignity : And that they ought to break the Chains of the Defender of the publick Liberty. The Senate fearing lest the People (in their Fury) should force open the Prisons, and that *Manlius* being set free by such violent Means, might carry his Audaciousness further than ever ; thought they should stifle this Affair, if they abated a little of their Authority : But instead of laying the Sedition, they, by this timorous Behaviour, gave a Chief to the Mutineers, and a Chief too, enraged by the Shame of his Imprisonment, and incapable of hearkning to Counsels of Moderation.

And indeed, he was no sooner out of Prison, than instead of growing the better for his Disgrace, he again stirr'd up the People to revive their Ancient Pretensions. He spake of nothing in private Assemblies, but the Justice of dividing the Publick Lands, and the Necessity of establishing an exact Equality among all the Citizens of one and the same Republic. " But you will never bring so  
 " Noble an Enterprize to bear, added he, (addressing himself to his most devoted Creatures)  
 " so long as you oppose the Pride and Avarice of  
 " the *Patricians* only with Complaints, Murmurs,  
 " and empty Discourses. It is Time to shake off  
 " their Tyranny ; to abolish the *Dictatorships* and  
 " *Consulates*. Make your selves a Head, that may  
 " govern the *Patricians* as well as the People. If  
 " you judge me worthy of that Honour, the more  
 " Power you give me, the sooner you will be in  
 " Possession of the Things you have so long wish'd  
 " for. I desire Authority with no View, but to  
 " make you all Rich and Happy.

It is said, that by this seditious Discourse, he meant to instil into his Creatures the Design of restoring the Royalty in his Person. But it is not known what Instruments he intended to make use of

of in so difficult an Undertaking, nor how far he carried his ambitious Project. What is most certain, is, that he held private Assemblies in his House on the Capitol, to which he called neither *A. Manlius*, nor *T. Manlius*, his Brothers, nor any of his Relations; but that on the contrary, no body was seen at them, but People ruin'd with Debts, or scandalous for their Debauchery.

The Senate, alarm'd at these Cabals, made a Decree, and a *Senatusconsultum*, whereby the Military Tribunes who represented the Consuls, were order'd to be particularly watchful, that the Republic received no Damage; a Form which was never used, but in the greatest Dangers of the State, and which invested those Magistrates with an Authority little different from that of the Dictator. After this, different Means were proposed for breaking the evil Designs of *Manlius*. Some Senators cried out, That the Republic, upon this Occasion, stood in need of another *Servilius Ahala*, who by one bold Stroke, and the Death of a bad Citizen, restored Peace and Tranquillity.

But *M. Menius*, and *Q. Petillius*, though both Tribunes of the People, offered themselves to the Senate, and opened to them a Scheme more secure and agreeable to the Moderation of that Body. Those Two Magistrates, foreseeing that the loss of their Dignities would soon follow that of the Public Liberty, represented that in the present Dispositions of Mens Minds, they cou'd not attack *Manlius* with open Force, without engaging the People in his Defence. That ways of Violence were always dangerous, and might raise a Civil War; That their first Business was to separate the Interests of the People from those of *Manlius*; That they themselves would undertake to be his Accusers, as of a Man that affected the Tyranny. That the People, from being the Protectors of *Manlius*, would become his Judge, and an inexorable



able Judge, when they found an Attempt and Conspiracy was formed against their Liberty ; that the Person accused was a *Patrician*, and *Tribunes* wou'd be his Accusers. The Senate embraced this Advice ; *Manlius* was cited ; and as the Crime alledged against him was Capital, he appeared before his Judges cloathed in Mourning. But he came alone ; none of his Relations would accompany him, nor concern themselves for his Disgrace : So much did the Love of Liberty, and fear of being enslav'd, prevail in the Heart of the *Romans*, over all the Ties of Blood and Nature.

His Accusers charged him with his seditious Discourses ; the Alterations he propos'd to make in the Government ; his ill-meant Liberalities to stir up the Multitude, and the false Accusation with which he had offended the whole Body of the Senate. *Manlius*, without entring into a Discussion of these several Articles, gave for Answer a Relation of his Services, and the Testimonies he had received of them from his Generals. He produc'd Bracelets, Javelins, Two Crowns of Gold, for having enter'd the first into the Cities of the Enemy by Breach ; Eight Civic Crowns, for having saved the Lives of so many Citizens in Battel ; and Thirty Spoils of Enemies, whom he had slain with his own Hand in single Combat. He, at the same Time, open'd his Bosom, and shew'd it all cover'd with Scars, left by the Wounds he had receiv'd in Fight. Lastly, He call'd upon *Jupiter*, and the other Gods, for Succour ; and turning to the Assembly, he conjured the People to cast their Eyes upon the *Capitol*, before they condemn'd him.

The People, touch'd with Compassion by so moving a Spectacle, could not resolve to inflict the utmost Rigor of the Laws upon a Man that had saved the Republick. The Sight of the *Capitol* where

where he had fought so valiantly against the *Gauls*, weaken'd the Accusation, and drew the Pity of the Multitude. The *Tribunes* found, that unless they removed the People out of the Sight of that Castle, the Criminal would always have an Asylum against the strongest Proofs of his Guilt. Thus, for fear he should escape them, they referr'd the Decision of this Affair to another Day, and appointed the Place of the Assembly to be without the Gate *Flamentana*. Then the Object that had saved him, no longer dazzling the Eyes of his Judges, *Manlius* was condemn'd to be thrown from the Top of the Capitol it self; and the Theatre of his Glory became that of his Punishment and Shame. None of his Family ever afterwards bore the Name of *Marcus*; his House where he had held his private Cabals, was razed to the Ground; and it was decreed, that no *Patrician* should afterwards dwell in the Capitol, lest the advantageous Situation of a Fortress that commanded the whole City, should suggest and facilitate the Design of enslaving it.

The People, who pity indifferently all the unfortunate, without distinguishing the Guilty from the Innocent, were not long before they regretted *Manlius*. They had soon forgot his Ambition; they remembred only his Courage and Valour; and especially the Adherence he had shown to their Interests. Those that had received Benefits from him, upbraided the Multitude that their Favourites never lasted long; and that they had always basely yielded them up to the Cruelty of the Senate. That that chief Order could not endure Virtues too conspicuous. That *Sp. Cassius*, another Consular, who had called them to the Partition of Lands; that *Melius*, who in a Famine had assisted them so generously, had perished miserably by the Jealousy of the Great; and that by the same Artifice they had just now destroyed *Manlius*,  
who

Tear of  
Rome,  
371.

who died only because that Noble Citizen would have freed them from the intolerable Usury with which they were oppressed. The Plague that happened a little while afterwards, did not fail to be ascribed by the meaner Sort to their Punishment of that Consul. They said that *Jupiter*, the Revenger of such illustrious Blood, was incensed at their having so unjustly put to Death the Defender of his Temple.

New Wars that were successively kindled against the *Volsck*, the *Circas*, and the *Prænestin*, which lasted almost Six Years, stifled those popular Notions. Peace bred new Dissentions, as if it had been the Fate of *Rome* never to preserve Tranquility at home and abroad at the same Time.

A great Number of *Plebeians* had distinguished themselves in these Wars, and acquired Wealth in them besides, which gave them further Credit. These *Plebeians*, whose Minds were exalted, thought it not above them to aspire to the Consulate, and the Command of Armies. To attain these Honours, they insinuated in all the Assemblies, that they should never see Concord perfectly restored in the Commonwealth, so long as the Dignities were reserved to the *Patricians* only. That Equality was the most solid Foundation of Union; and that *Plebeians* ought to be admitted into the Consulate indifferently with *Patricians*. That the Hope of arriving at all the Honours of the Republick, would raise a noble Emulation between the Two Orders of the State; and that no *Plebeian* would then value his Life, when Dignities, Honours, Nobility and Glory were common among all the Citizens.

The poorer Sort, wholly concerned for the Necessaries of Life, seemed very little moved with these magnificent Pretensions. The *Patricians*, on the other Hand, long opposed them with great Courage and Firmness. This was for several Years

a continual Subject of Dispute between the Senate, and the *Tribunes* of the People. At length the Tears of a Woman produced what the Eloquence, Credit and Cabals of the *Tribunes* had not been able to obtain. So true it is, that this artful Sex is never stronger than when it makes use of its own Weakness to effect its Designs. This will appear in the Story we are now to relate.

M. *Fabius Ambustus*, besides his Three Sons, Liv. l. 6. whom we spoke of upon occasion of the War of the *Gauls*, had Two Daughters; of which the eldest was married to *Ser. Sulpitius*, a *Patrician* by Tear of Birth, and then *Military Tribune*; and the younger had espoused a rich *Plebeian*, named C. *Licinius* Romic, *Stolo*. 377. One Day, when that *Plebeian's* Wife was at her Sister's House, the Lictor that went before *Sulpitius* at his Return from the Senate, knocked roughly at the Door with the Staff of the *Fasces*, to give Notice that the Magistrate was coming in. This extraordinary Noise frighten'd the Wife of *Licinius*; her Sister took no Notice of her Concern, but by a malicious Smile that seemed to hint at the Inequality of their Conditions. Her Vanity, stung to the Quick by so mortifying a Distinction, threw her into a deep Melancholy. Her Father and Husband often asked her the Occasion of it; but without getting any Satisfactory Answer. She affected to bury the Cause of it in an obstinate Silence. Those Two *Romans*, who were extremely fond of her, redoubled their Intreaties, and omitted no Means to draw this Secret from her. At length, after as much Resistance as she thought necessary to increase their Curiosity, she pretended to yield to their Desires; and confessed with Tears in her Eyes, and with a sort of Confusion, that she should certainly die of Grief, if being of the same Blood as her Sister, her Husband could not attain the same Dignities as her Brother-in-Law,

*Fabius*

*Fabius* and *Licinius*, to comfort her, gave her a solemn Promise, that they would spare no Pains to procure for their Family the same Honours as she had seen in that of her Sister ; and without losing Time in making Interest for the Military Tribune, they boldly aimed at once at the very Consulship. Her Father, though a *Patrician*, joined with his Son-in-Law ; and either out of Complaisance to his Daughter, or Resentment of the Death of his Son, whom the Senate had deserted, entered into Measures opposite to those of his Order. *Licinius* and he associated into their Design *L. Sextius*, of a *Plebeian* Family, equally esteemed for his Valour and his Eloquence, an intrepid Defender of the Privileges of the People ; and who, as the very *Patricians* confessed, wanted nothing but a more illustrious Birth to capacitate him for the highest Offices of the Republick.

*C. Licinius* and *L. Sextius*, agreed to get the *Plebeian* Tribune first, as a kind of Step to the Supreme-Magistracy : This they easily obtained. Scarce had they compassed this first Point, but they resolved to use their utmost Endeavours to make the Consulship common to both Orders of the Republick. To effect this Design, and to prevent the Senate from getting both the Places of the Consulate by their Credit, they formed the Draught of a Law, which decreed that one of those Two Places should always be filled with a *Plebeian*.

The Business was to bring the whole Body of the People into this Project ; which was no easy Matter, the Multitude being much fonder of the Division of the Lands, or the Abolition of the Debts, than of the Consular Dignity, which could never affect any but the most powerful of their Order. Thus the Two *Tribunes* agreed to tack these Proposals together, and to carry the Law relating to the Consulate, by Means of that  
of

of the Partition of the Lands: They added a Third, full as advantageous to the Multitude, for the restraining of Usury. It was proposed to deduct from the Capital Debt, whatever had been paid for excessive Interest, and the Principal was to be discharged in Three Years, and by Three equal Payments.

The Second Law related to the Partition of the conquered Lands, the perpetual Subject of Contest between the Senate and People. But as the *Tribunes* foresaw that the whole Body of *Patricians*, and indeed those rich *Plebeians* too, that had long been in Possession of such Lands, would jointly stand up against his Proposal; and that their Opposition might hinder the passing of the Law concerning the Consulate, they resolved to content themselves with demanding, that at least it should be unlawful for the future. to possess above Five Hundred Acres of them; and that those who were found to have more than that, should be deprived of them; to be distributed among those who enjoy no Inheritance in Land.

Lastly, By the Third Law, the main Purpose of the *Tribunes*, it was decreed, that Military *Tribunes* should not be chosen any more; that the Consulate should be restored, with all its Prerogatives; and that one of the Consuls should always be taken out of the Body of the *Plebeians*.

The Two *Tribunes* proposed these Laws in the First Assembly. Never did Division, Cabals, and Intrigues run higher. It was attacking both the Senate and Nobility in all that raises the most violent Desires in Man: Riches and Honour. The whole Body of *Patricians* declared loudly against these Proposals: The People, on their Side, backed their *Tribunes* with equal Warmth; nay, there were Deserters in both Parties. The Rich *Plebeian*, whose Acquisitions had made the Interest of his Order contrary to his own, feared he should be

be stripped of part of his Wealth ; and the Noble and *Patrician* that were possessed of no more Land than what was allowed by the Law, stood up for it, in order to make themselves agreeable to the People ; and by that Means to attain the chief Dignities of the Republick. The City was full of Tumult ; Discord reigned in all Parts of it ; even Families were divided among themselves ; every one chose his Party, according to his private Views and Interests ; and *Rome* was in that Agitation, which is the usual Forerunner of Seditions and Civil Wars.

The Assembly broke up without coming to any Resolution. The Two *Tribunes*, who were the Heads of their Party, spent the Interval betwixt that and the next Assembly in Caballing, and securing the Votes of the Multitude. The Senate, on their Parts, held several Councils both in publick and private. At length they had Recourse to an Expedient, which had already been of very great Service to them : They gained over some of the *Tribunes* of the People. These being displeased that *Licinius* and *Sextius* should assume the whole Authority of their Colleague to themselves, gave the Senate private assurances of their Opposition. *Licinius* and *Sextius*, who knew nothing of this secret Combination, assembled the People, in full Confidence that nothing could prevent the Reception of their Laws : They ordered them to be read, and at the same Time invited all the Tribes to give their Voices. But the *Tribunes*, who were won over by the Senate, immediately rose, and declared, that they opposed it.

The Opposition of one single *Tribune* was, as we have said before, an invincible Obstacle to any Proposal ; and all they had Occasion to say, to hinder the Success of any Affair, was this one Latin Word, *VE TO*, *I forbid it* : A Term so powerful in the Mouth of those *Plbeian* Magistrates, that

that without the least Reason given for this Opposition, it was equally sufficient to break the Resolutions of the Senate, and the Proposals of the other *Tribunes*.

Thus the Laws were rejected, and the Senate triumph'd; but *Sextius*, though surpriz'd at the Treachery of his Colleagues, abated nothing of his Boldness; but taking his Resolution in a Moment: "The Gods forbid (said he) that I should violate the noblest Privilege of the People, though their Magistrates make use of it now against their Interest. But since this Opposition has so much Power, we, in our Turn, shall make use of the same Weapon." Then addressing himself to the Senate and *Patricians*: "You may call as many Assemblies as you please, Gentlemen (added he) to elect *Military Tribunes*; you will find that this Word *VETO*, which is now so agreeable to you in the Mouth of my Colleagues, will not please you so well in mine.

These were no empty Threats; for the Time being come for the Election of new *Military Tribunes*, *Licinius* and *Sextius* stiffly oppos'd the proceeding to any Election at all of them; though at the same Time they managed it so well, as to continue themselves in the *Plebeian Tribuneship*. They renew'd the same Opposition for the Five succeeding Years; so that the Republick being without a Head, fell, through the Obstinacy of both Parties, into a kind of Anarchy; which was interrupted only by the Creation of some *Inter-Kings*, who were elected at Times, to try to bring Matters to a Reconciliation.

Mean Time, a Foreign War, which seemed to be a less Misfortune than these Domestick Broils, came, as it were, to the Assistance of the Senate. The Inhabitants of *Velitra* made Incursions into the Lands of the Republick, and afterwards besieged



sieged *Tusculum*, a City in League with the Roman People. As they could not avoid taking Arms to repel this Insult, the Two *Tribunes* of the People were constrained to wave their Opposition; and they proceeded to the Election of *Military Tribunes* to lead their Army into the Field.

The Enemies were beaten, and the Siege of *Tusculum* raised. *Velitra* was afterwards besieged; but that Place not being taken by those that begun the Siege, they were obliged to create new *Military Tribunes*. *Licinius* and *Sextius* not being able to hinder it, found Means to get *Fabius Ambulius*, the Father-in-Law of *Licinius*, to be chosen for one of those Magistrates.

These Two Men, artful, enterprizing, and supported by a *Military Tribune*, reigned imperiously in all the Assemblies: They represented to the People, that in a Republick, the Great Dignities should be the Reward of Merit equally in all, without Distinction of Birth or Riches. And *Sextius*, who was naturally eloquent, turning to the Senate, and Apostrophising the *Patricians*, asked them sternly, Whether they could not subsist upon Five Hundred Acres of Land, when their Ancestors had but Two Acres allotted them for each Master of a Family, and most of the People had no more then? "But (adds he) it is this unequal Partition among the Citizens of the same Republick, which is the Cause that the People groans under the Weight of Usury; and that we daily see Men Free-born, lying in Chains, and dragged to Jail, like so many Slaves. And we must not flatter our selves (added he) that the Rich will set any Bounds to their Avarice, or that the *Patricians* will abate any Thing of that Tyrannical Dominion which they exercise over our Goods and Persons, till the People have so much Courage as to chuse a Consul out of their own Body, who may be the Mediator of  
" their

their Necessities, and the Protector of their Liberty.

At the same Time that *Sextius*, by these and the like Discourses, was fomenting the Animosity of the *Plebeians* against the Senate, his Friends and Adherents gained over his Colleagues, who at length ceased their Opposition. *Sextius* having got clear of this Obstacle, convened the Assembly of the People. The Senate, alarm'd at this Change in the *Tribunes*, who broke their Word with them, had Recourse, as in the greatest Dangers of the Republick, to a Dictator; and all the Senators with an unanimous Voice, bestowed that Dignity upon *Camillus*. This was the Fourth Time he had been invested with it: He accepted not of it now without some Unwillingness. Being indifferent between the Nobility and the People, and solely attached to the whole Body of the Republick, he had been glad to have avoided siding with either Party; but the Contest was too furious, and the *Tribunes* too obstinate and hot to be prevailed upon by moderate Counsels. The Two *Tribunes*, secure of their Colleagues, who had removed their Opposition, thought there was nothing now left to hinder the passing of their Laws, when the Dictator, to gain Time, published an Order for the Roman People to appear in the Field of *Mars*, to follow him to War.

This Command of a Magistrate, who had Power of Life and Death over his Fellow-Citizens, caused a great deal of Uneasiness among the People. The *Tribunes*, to give them Courage, had the Boldness to threaten the Dictator, that they would condemn him to a Fine of Fifty Thousand *Drachmae*, unless he revoked his Edict. But during these Disputes, the Time elapsed; Night came on, and those of the People, who, in sight of the Dictator's Edict, were come to the Assembly with the *Tribunes*, were oblig'd to depart with-

Year of  
Rome,  
385.

Liv. 6.  
Dec. 1.

out agreeing upon any Thing, which was the Dictator's chief Aim. He afterwards laid down his Dignity; either because, considering his great Age, and perhaps still remembering his Exile, he did not care to venture himself again in an Affair of so much Heat; or, which *Livy* thinks the more probable, because he was privately inform'd, that there was some Defect in the Form of taking the Auspices at his Creation of Dictator. We have already heard to what a Point of Superstition the *Romans*, who were then no less ignorant and unpolish'd than they were brave, had carried these scrupulous Observations. If the Augur, in the preparatory Prayers, mistook one single Word for another; if the Vail which covered his Head chanced to fall; or if he himself did not rise or sit down again in his Seat exactly at the Times and Circumstances appointed; the Omission of the least of these Formalities, which might easily happen in an infinite Number of other Ceremonies, was sufficient to make void all the Deliberations or Elections that were performed in Consequence of this Act of Religion; and a Man that was capable of despising the *Augurs*, was looked upon as profane and impious. It is not surprizing, therefore, that a Magistrate, so pious as *Camillus*, should be unwilling to retain any longer, a Dignity conferred upon him, contrary to the Laws and Prejudices of his Religion. And what would make one believe that he did not abdicate it out of Fear of the *Tribunes* of the People, is, that soon afterwards he accepted it again, when the Affair of the Consulate was not yet determin'd. Mean Time, as the Senate, in so nice a Conjunction, knew not how to act without a Dictator, whose Authority might be a Curb upon the Cabals and Intrigues of the *Tribunes*, they conferr'd that great Dignity on *P. Manlius*, who, till then, had always seem'd a firm Adherent to the Interests of his

his Order and Society. But the Choice this Magistrate made of a *Plebeian*, named *C. Licinius*, for General of his Horse, showed his secret Inclination for the Party of the People; though he endeavoured to justify so extraordinary a Nomination, which, as yet, was without Example, upon Account of the Dignity of *Military Tribune*, which this *C. Licinius* had before enjoyed, wherein we are to distinguish him from *C. Licinius Stolo*, who was only *Tribune* of the People. The Dictator, to excuse himself for making this Choice, alleged some remote Alliance between his Family and that of *Licinius*. Which shows how rarely mutual Fidelity is preserved in the Confusions of the State, because of the secret Ties that there are among the Citizens of the same City, though of opposite Parties. *Sextius* apprehending nothing either from the Dictator, or General of the Horse, was now in hopes of bringing all his Designs to a happy Conclusion: He employed his Eloquence in all the Assemblies, to inspire the People with his Ambition. But the Multitude, who earnestly wished for the Partition of Lands, and some Relief in their Debts, seemed but very indifferent as to the Consulate. This generous People had a Veneration for the Blood of the *Patricians*, as the glorious Spring of so many Generals who had led them to Battle and Conquest.

The Two *Tribunes*, alarmed at this Coldness, feigned that they would meddle no longer with any Publick Affairs: They even jointly refused to concur in the Election that was to be made of new *Tribunes* for the following Year. *Sextius* represented in all the Assemblies, that his Colleague and he had grown old in that Office to no Purpose. That it was now Nine Years since they had combated with the Senate for the Good of the People, who were now ready to abandon them. That the *Plebeians* would indeed very gladly come into

Liv. l. 6.

the Partition of Lands, and were no less eager to be freed of their Debts; but when the Honour of their Magistrates was to be promoted, and the Reward of their Services to be paid, nothing was to be met with, but Coldness and Indifference. And now *Sextius* flinging off the Mask: "Know (says he to the People) that our Proposals are inseparable. You must resolve to pass them conjointly; and if we do not obtain the Consulate by your Means, you shall have neither conquer'd Lands, nor Diminution of your Debts; and I declare, that my Colleague and I will renounce an Office which brings us nothing but Ingratitude.

Year of  
Rome,  
385.

All the Senators and *Patricians* in the Assembly could not enough wonder at the Impudence with which this audacious *Tribune* made so open a Confession of his ambitious Aims. *Appius Claudius*, the Grandson of the *Decemvir*, rising up, and addressing himself to the Multitude: "At least (says he) you can now no longer doubt that your *Tribunes* have stirred up all these Seditions for nothing but their own Interest. You hear these new *Tarquins* threaten you without fear of Punishment, that neither you shall have Lands, nor the Republick Magistrates, unless the Consulship be yielded to them.

The People were very sensible of the Pride and Contempt they shewed in this Alternative; but the Business was gone too far: The Multitude being afraid of losing their Defenders, solemnly engaged themselves to follow their Directions implicitly. It was only upon this Condition, that those Two Magistrates condescended to hold their Tribuneship: And the most ambitious of Men were so artful as to make a new Merit of the Continuation of their Empire and Dominion.

The Senate and Nobility were confounded at the Boldness of Two Men that had got the Secret  
of

of perpetuating themselves in Two Offices, annual by their Institution, but which they were making Hereditary in their Families. The Senators upbraided each other with their Weakness; and could not, without Indignation, think with what a Decrease of Authority they should leave to their Children the Dignity they had received from their Fathers. The whole City was in Motion, and its Inhabitants just upon the Point of taking Arms against each other, when they were obliged to turn them against a Cloud of Gauls, who from the Shore of the *Adriatic* Sea, were advancing towards *Rome*, to revenge the Defeat of their Countrymen.

Enemies so formidable suspended the Divisions that tore the Commonwealth. It was now no longer Time to dispute about the Superiority either of Capacity or Valour between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. A common Danger, the surest Test of true Merit, united their Votes; and the Tribunes of the People demanded *Camillus* for their Dictator, with as much Eagerness as the Senate. This was the Fifth Time that he was raised to this Supreme Post. Victory under so great a Captain was neither difficult nor doubtful. The *Gauls* were defeated; a great Number fell in the Field of Bat-tel, and the rest being scattered by Flight, and unable to rally, were knocked on the Head by the Peasants. The End of this War was the Beginning of new Troubles at Home, and the old Divisions broke out afresh. *Licinius* and *Nextus*, those perpetual Tribunes, resolved to carry the Consulate at any Rate. For this Purpose, they convened the Assembly of the People, and without staying to harangue them as usual, ordered the Votes to be gathered. The Dictator, who came into the *Forum*, followed by the whole Senate, would have opposed it; but the Tribunes, who

*Year of  
Rome,  
386.*

Plut. in  
Cam.

now respected neither the Laws, nor the chief Dignity of the Republick, sent a Licor to seize *Camillus*, and carry him to Prison. This Attempt upon the Sovereign Magistrate, made the whole Nobility rise at once: *Rome* never saw so great a Tumult. The *Patricians* drive back the Licor, and the *Plebeians* at the same Time prepare to back him. The Two Parties draw up on each Side of the Place, just ready to come to Blows. In this Disorder, the Dictator sent word to the Tribunes to restrain their Animosity for a Moment: He then calls to him all the Senators, and carries them into a neighbouring Temple, in order to come to some final Resolution. But before he entered, he turned towards the Capitol, and addressing himself to the Gods, he made a Vow to build a Temple to *Concord*, if he could restore Union among his Fellow-Citizens.

Ovid. Fast.  
lib. 1.  
Plut. in  
Cam.

There were sharp Contests between the Senators, what they had best to do; but at last the Danger pressing hard upon them, and the People in their Fury threatening to leave *Rome*, the more moderate Course, and that which was most conformable to the present State of Things, was resolved on by Plurality of Voices; and they at length consented to grant the People one of the Places in the Consulship: *Sextius* was the first of the *Plebeians* that enjoyed it, and *Licinius* succeeded him shortly afterwards. The *Patricians* on their Side, by the Interposition of the Dictator, obtained Two new Dignities peculiar to themselves, exclusive of the People, as it were to make them amends for what they had lost. The first was the Prætorship established for the dispensing of Justice in the City: A Function originally Part of the Consulship; but which the Consuls could not always execute, especially in the Summer, which they usually spent at the Head of the Armies.

Thus

Thus the Prætorship was looked upon as a Supplement to the Consulate, and the Second Dignity in the Commonwealth. *Sp. Furius*, the Dictator's Son, was the first Prætor of Rome; and as such was allowed the *Toga Prætexta*, or Robe edged with Purple, the *Cursule Chair*, and Six Lictors bearing Falces before him: Wherein the Prætor was distinguished from the Consul, who had Twelve. And as the Dictator had the General of the Horse for his Vicegerent, and the Consuls their Lieutenants; the Prætor had the Quæstors particularly under his Direction, and they eased him of Part of his Business.

The Second Office that was created in Favour of the *Patricians*, was the *Major Ædility*, so called, to distinguish it from the *Plebeian Ædility*; established at the same Time as the Tribunes of the People, whose Lieutenants they were looked upon to be. This Office was also called the *Cursule Ædility*, because those who possessed it, were like the Consuls and Prætors, allowed to be carried in a Kind of Throne adorned with Ivory, which they called the *Cursule Chair*.

The Two first *Patrician Ædiles* were *Cn. Quintilius Capitalinus*, and *P. Cornelius Scipio*. The Functions of these Ædiles were answerable to those of our Mayors, Lieutenants de Police, and Treasurers of France, all at the same Time. They had the Care of the Temples, Theatres, Games, Publick Places, Markets, Tribunals, of Justice, and the Repair of the Walls of the City. It was also their Business to take Care that no Novelty was introduced in Religion: They had the same Inspection over the Books that were published, and the Pieces that were written for the Stage: This Post always filled by Two *Patricians*, was a Step to the Prætorship and Consulate.

Liv. l. 7.  
Plut. in  
Camillo.



At length, after the Establishment of the Consuls, Prætors and *Curule Ediles*, the Law relating to the publick Lands was passed, as the only Means to appease the Multitude, and to settle Peace in the State.

This Law, named *Licinia*, from *C. Licinius Stolo*, its Author, contained, That no Citizen shou'd upon any Pretence whatsoever, be for the future possessed of above Five Hundred Acres of the conquered Lands; and that the rest shou'd either be distributed *Gratis*, or farmed out at low Rents, among the poor Citizens.

That in this Partition, at least Seven Acres shou'd be assign'd to each Citizen.

That none shou'd be suffered to have upon his Estate above such a Number of Servants or Slaves, to improve it.

That the Number of Cattle shou'd also be limited proportionably to the Quantity of Land that each Man possessed; and that the richest shou'd not breed nor send into the Commons and publick Pastures above a Hundred black Cattle, and Five Hundred Sheep.

That Three Commissioners shou'd immediately be named to take Care of the Execution of the Law, and that the Author who prepared it shou'd not be of these Triumvirs.

Lastly, That the Senate, the Knights, and the People, shou'd take a solemn Oath to observe this Law; and that whoever shou'd break it hereafter, shou'd be fined Ten Thousand *Asses*, or Ten Thousand *Roman Pence*.

The Law was at first observed with great Exactness, as new Regulations generally are. The very Author of the Law, *C. Licinius Stolo*, was the first Roman fined for Violation of it. He was convicted of possessing above a Thousand Acres of Land: And though to escape the Rigor of the

Law,

Law, he had before shared them with his Son, whom he had made Free for that very Purpose, this Emancipation was looked upon as nothing but an Evasion of the Law. Half his Lands were taken from him, and divided among poor Citizens; he paid besides a Fine of Ten Thousand Pence\*; and learnt by his own Experience, that in a Free Government the People will not bear to see the Magistrates excuse themselves from the Observation of the Laws which they prescribe to private Men. But as there are no Penalties so severe, which the Avarice of Men will not evade, the Richest and most Powerful among the Romans afterwards found a way to get the Commons and conquered Lands adjudged to themselves under borrowed Names. The Wars that fell out with the Latins, the Samnites, the Gauls, and the Carthaginians, favoured these Usurpations; the Laws were less heard amidst the Tumult of Arms; the Magistrates with a mutual Collusion concealed these Infractions; and at last they did not so much as make the least Mystery of their borrowed Names, as we shall see by what follows. The Great pulled off the Mask, and the *Lex Licinia* fell at length into Contempt, and the People into Indigence and Misery.

This was the Cause of new Disturbances, so much the more dangerous as the People were grown more numerous and powerful; and that some great Men, under Pretence of supporting their Interests, made themselves the Heads of Parties. But before I enter into the Particulars of

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\* The Pence of Gold were at the Rate of Seventy Two to the Pound, or Eighty Four Grains Weight, and were current for Forty Denarii of Silver. The Penny of Gold among the Romans, was worth a Thousand Sesterces, and each Sesterrium was worth a Quarter of their Denarius of Silver.

these Dispensations, I thought it wou'd be very necessary to give some Account in what Manner the *Romans* extended the Dominion over *Italy*, *Sicily*, *Spain*, and Part of *Africk* and *Asia*, Which I shall relate as briefly as possible; and without stirring from *Rome* any more than is necessary to give a thorough Knowledge of the several Revolutions that happened in her Government, the main Design of this Work.

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*The End of the Seventh Book*

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## BOOK VIII.

**I.** *Manlius is accused before the Assembly of the People, of giving hard Usage to T. Manlius his Son. A bold Altian of Titus to bring his Father off. He kills a Gaul of an extraordinary Stature, and is furnished Torquatus. Valerius Corvus: Why so called. The Samnites declare War against the Romans; which concludes to the Advantage of the latter. The First War between the Carthaginians and the Romans. After various Success on each Side, the Carthaginians are obliged to beg Peace, which they obtained not, but upon very hard Conditions. They repair their Losses, and renew the War: Hannibal passes into Italy, and reduces Roma to the very Point of Destruction. He is obliged to return into Africa to defend his own Country. Scipio cuts his Army to Pieces, and takes Carthage. The Roman Conquests in Greece and Asia. The Tribuneship of Tiberius Gracchus full of Troubles. The Death of that Tribune.*

**T**HE Republick enjoyed a profound Peace both at Home and Abroad; and the People look'd upon the Consulship they had just obtained, as a Victory which they had won over the Senate and the Patricians. But their Tribunes, who had no way to make themselves considerable, but by new Dissentions, complain'd, that for one *Cursule* Dignity, which the Patricians had granted to the People, they had got Three new Magistracies for them-

themselves; that the Dignity of Prætor had been created on purpose to make them Masters of the Administration of Justice; that they had Two *Curule Ædiles*, whose Authority quite annihilated that of the *Plebeian Ædiles*. Therefore they demanded, that all the Offices and Dignities of the State might be equally common to the Nobles and the People; that Merit alone shou'd give the Preference in all Elections; and that without Distinction of Rank or Birth, it might be lawful to chuse indifferently either *Plebeians* or *Patricians* to fill the Civil Posts, and even those of the Priesthood it self. This was the common Topick of the Discourses with which these turbulent Tribunes entertained the Multitude in their Assemblies. They forgot no Elogium's that might make the least Actions of the *Plebeians* seem great and glorious, at the same Time that they endeavoured to weaken and detract from the greatest Services of the Nobility. They even applied themselves to get Intelligence of what passed in their private Families, upon which they raised spiteful and exaggerated Reports, in order to make them contemptible.

Year of  
Rome,  
391.

It was with this Design, that under the Consulship of *Q. Servilius Ahalla*, and *Lucius Cæcilius*; a Tribune of the People called *M. Pomponius*, cited *L. Manlius*, who was but just out of his Dictatorship, under Pretence that this *Patrician* used one of his Sons with too much Severity. This Son of *Manlius*, named *Titus*, was born a *Stammderf*. And as in his Childhood, he gave no Proofs of any great Capacity, his Father had confined him to one of his Country Houses, where he was employed in Tillage, and other Works of Agriculture, as was practised even yet among the *Romans*. Nevertheless *Pomponius* made it a Crime in *Manlius*, who besides was disagreeable to the People for the Severity he had exercised in the Magistracies, and

and in the Armies. The Affair was prosecuted so vigorously, that no body doubted he wou'd be condemned to pay a considerable Fine.

*Titus Manlius* hearing of the Danger his Father was in upon his Account, departs from his Village early in the Morning all alone; goes to *Rome*, and comes to the Door of the Tribune, who was not yet up. He sends him word, that the Son of *Manlius* desired to speak to him about an Affair that wou'd admit of no Delay. The Tribune fully persuaded, that he came either to thank him for taking his Part, or else perhaps to discover to him some new Proofs of his Father's Severity, ordered him to be brought in. *Manlius*, after having saluted him, begged Leave to talk with him in private; the Tribunes Servants immediately retired by his Order. Then the young Man clapped a Dagger to his Throat, and threatned to kill him, if he did not bind himself by the most solemn Oaths, to desist from the Prosecution he had begun against his Father: The Tribune affrighted, swore any Thing that he wou'd have him. But he was no sooner rid of so troublesome a Guest, but he went to the Assembly of the People to complain of this Insult, and demanded to be absolved from his Oath. The People, more generous, decreed otherwise: For the Sake of the Son, they forbid him to carry on his Action any further against the Father; and to reward his filial Piety, the young *Manlius* was appointed one of the Tribunes of the Legions: An Employment which the Generals disposed of before, but which the People afterwards took into their own Nomination.

*T. Manlius* was not long before he showed by remarkable Actions of Valour, how worthy he was of this Honour. The *Cis-Alpine Gauls* having again taken Arms to revenge their Defeat, came and incamped Three Miles from *Rome*, near one of the Bridges of the *Teveron*, under the Consulship of  
L. Sul-

Tear of  
Rome,  
392.

*L. Sulpicius*, and *C. Lucinius Calvus*, the same that, during his Tribuneship, had in Conjunction with *Sextius*, laboured so hard to procure the Consulate for the Order of *Plebeians*.

At the Report of the March of these formidable Enemies, they immediately named a Dictator; it was *T. Quintius Pennus*, who chose *Sergius Cornelius Maluginensis* for General of the Horse. The Romans, under the Command of these Generals, immediately advanced to the Banks of the Teveron: Nothing but the River parted them from the Enemy. A Gaul, of an enormous Size, and who looked more like a Giant than an ordinary Man, advanced upon the Bridge, and challenged the bravest of the Romans. His big Limbs intimidated the stoutest. *Manlius* alone thought he had now found a Danger worthy his Valour, he asked Leave of his General to fight the Gaul: "I am in hopes," says he, "to show this Barbarian, that I come of a Family fatal to his Nation, and of which the chief precipitated the Gauls from the Top of the Capitol. Go, says the Dictator, and be as courageous for the Glory of thy Country, as thou wast for the Defence of thy Father." The Two Champions were not long before they engaged, and *Filius Manlius* joining Art to Valour, slew his Enemy, and took from him a Gold Chain that he wore about his Neck, and put it about his own, as a Monument of his Victory. This got him the Surname of *Torquatus*, which afterwards descended to his Posterity. The Success of this single Combat, appeared to the Gauls to be so ill an Omen of the whole Course of the War, that they abandoned their Camp in the Night, and retired with all the Haste they could make.

Some Years afterwards, a new Army of Gauls overran the Territories of the Romans. *L. Furius Camillus*, the Consul, Son of the Dictator, marched against them; and *M. Valerius* had the same Advan-

Liv. 7.  
Oros. L. 3.  
C. 5.  
Florus. L. 1  
C. 13.

Advantage as *Marius* over another *Gaul*, whom *Tar* of  
that *Roman* vanquish'd in single Combat; it is *Rome*,  
said, that a Raven which perched upon his Hel- 404.  
met during the Fight, contributed with his Beak Liv. L. 1.  
and Claws to the Defeat of his Adversary, which Gell. L. 9.  
gave the Name of *Corvus* to *Valerius*, and to his C. 11.  
Descendants that of *Corvini*. But without dwell- Val. Max.  
ling upon the Miracle of this Event, we shall L. 3. C. 2.  
only observe, that in his Second War the single  
Fight was succeeded by a general Battel, and  
with the same Success; the *Gauls* were defeated,  
and those that escaped left the *Roman* Domi-  
nions, and were some Time before they return'd  
again.

This was not the only Nation jealous of the  
Power and Conquests of the *Romans*. All those  
Petty States, which under different Names inha-  
bited *Latium* and *Tuscany*, were almost continual-  
ly at War with them. The *Samnites* afterwards  
declared against them; and the *Romans* cou'd ne-  
ver have subdued them all, if they had not found  
a Way to sow Division among them. But to keep  
those People, that were nearest *Rome*, firm to its  
Interests, they flattered them with the Title of Al-  
lies of the *Roman* Nation; and when they had  
made themselves Masters of the more distant Coun-  
tries, those who had suffered themselves to be lull'd  
asleep with this Name of Allies, found themselves  
involved in their Conquests; and then though  
they retained that Name, they were treated as Sub-  
jects. They durst not make War, without the  
Consent of the Senate, and were obliged to furnish  
their Contingent of Troops, to assist the *Romans*  
in extending their Empire and Dominion. Such  
was the Conduct of these artful Politicians; we  
may find in the Progress of their Arms, the Fruits  
of a Scheme of Ambition very well laid; and  
what is most singular, is, that these eternal De-  
fenders of Liberty were themselves the Oppressors



Year of  
Rome, . .  
323.

of the natural Rights of Men, and the Tyrants of all Italy. The *Hernici*, who had been almost a whole Age in their Dependence, first undertook to withdraw themselves from it. All, even the old Men, took Arms to recover their Liberty. *Genu- tius*, the *Plebeian* Consul, was sent against them. This was the first of that Order that ever had the Command of an Army. The *Patricians* and *Ple- beians*, out of different Motives, impatiently ex- pected what would be the Success of this War.

Liv. l. 7.  
Oros. l. 3.  
C. 5.

*Genu- tius* fell into an Ambush, where he was slain, and most of his Troops cut to Pieces.

The *Patricians* taking Advantage of this Defeat of the *Plebeian* Consul, to mortify the *Tribunes*, and lessen their Credit, reproached the People, that the Gods had at length severely revenged the Pro- fanation of their *Auspices*, and punished a Man who presumed upon an unjust Law, to appropri- ate them to himself like a *Patrician*.

The People and their *Tribunes*, confounded and abashed, made no Reply. They were forced in this Misfortune to have Recourse to a Dictator. The Nobility procured that Office for *Appius Claudius*, the Grandson of the *Decemvir*, the Man of all the *Patricians*, most jealous of the Privileges of his Birth, and the Prerogatives of his Order. He immediately raised a new Army, marched against the Enemy, and after a sharp and bloody Fight gained a glorious Victory. I omit the fe- veral little Battels that were afterwards fought against the *Privernates*, the *Falisci*, the *Tarquinius*, and the *Veliterni*. All these Nations did not so much make War as Incursions upon the Romans. If they were beaten, either they begged Peace, or else shut themselves up in their Towns, without daring to appear in the Field again. The *Tuscans* afterwards arose in their Place, and came next up- on the Stage. They were, as we said before, a League or Community of Twelve Nations, or Twelve

Twelve petty States, whose Power however was not inconsiderable, when their Forces were united. This War seemed of Importance enough to be committed to the Conduct of a Dictator; and notwithstanding all the Struggles of the Senate and Patricians, *C. Martius Rutilus*, though a Plebeian, was nominated to that Dignity; he chose for his General of the Horse another Plebeian, named *C. Plautius*.

Liv. l. 7.  
Diod. Lib.  
16.  
Year of  
Rome,  
397.

The Senate, who had not been able to hinder the Election of a Plebeian Dictator, forgot no means to cross his Preparations, and to disable him from acquiring any Glory. The People, with a contrary View, ran with the greatest Alacrity to list themselves under his Banners; he quickly had raised a Powerful Army; and as he was both a Soldier and a Captain, he defeated the *Tuscan*s, cut their Army to Pieces, took Eight Thousand Prisoners, and at his Return, in spite of the Senate's Opposition, obtained the Honours of a Triumph. Thus the People by degrees got a share with the Nobility, in all the Honours and Dignities of the Republick. They were already in Possession of the *Curule Ædility*, though Historians do not mention the Names of the Two first Plebeians that were invested with it. *Philo*, another Plebeian, some Time afterwards arrived at the Prætorship, and the *Martius* we just now spoke of, raised himself by his Courage and Virtue, even to the Dignity of Censor. After this Time, though the Distinction between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* yet subsisted; it was not so much Birth as the *Curule Dignities* that gave Nobility; and in the Course of this History, we shall see *Plebeians* reckoned among the Chief and most Noble of the Republick, because they descended from Ancestors that had enjoyed those *Curule Dignities*.

The *Romans*, after having triumphed over the *Sabines*, the *Tuscan*s, the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, the

Year of  
Rome,  
410.

*Æqui*, the *Volsci*, and all their petty Neighbours, turned their Arms against the *Samnites*, who inhabited that Part of *Italy* which is now called *Abruzzo*; a fierce and warlike Nation, who yielded to the *Romans* neither in Valour nor Military Discipline, and who, like *Rome*, had Subjects and Allies, who followed their Fortune.

Between Two equal Powers bordering upon each other, it is needless to look for any other Cause of War, but mutual Jealousy and Competition. Thus the Subject, or to speak more properly, the Pretence of this Rupture was, that the *Samnites* undertook to subdue the *Sidicini*, and the *Capuans*; and that the *Romans*, who were not for having the *Samnites* so powerful, opposed their Conquests.

The War began by the *Sidicini*, a little State, of which the *Samnites* endeavoured to make themselves Masters. The *Sidicini* had Recourse to those of *Capua*, who undertook their Defence with more Ostentation than Power. The *Capuans* indeed possessed a very fruitful Country, and Commerce every Day added to their Riches. But this Wealth of private Persons was the Weakness of the State. The Houses were magnificent; the City without Fortifications. Luxury reigned throughout; the Purse-proud Merchant mistook his Vanity for Courage, and look'd with Contempt upon Enemies that were not so rich as he.

This Presumption, and indiscreet Contempt of their Enemies Strength, was the Occasion of their Ruin. The *Samnites*, who had a Prospect of more Glory and Advantage in the Conquest of them than of the *Sidicini*, turned their Arms against them. It soon came to a Battel; the *Capuans* were defeated in Two great Conflicts, in which they lost all their Youth; and the Conquerors who had no Obstacle now left in their Way, marched on to a  
City

City which had no Defence but weak Walls, and Inhabitants filled with Consternation.

The Magistrates in this Distress applied themselves to *Rome*. They sent a celebrated Embassy to implore the Alliance and Succour of the *Romans*. Their Ambassadors laid before the Senate all the Motives either of Glory, or of Interest, that could engage the Republick to take them into their Protection, the Extremity to which they were reduced, and the Power of their Enemies, which would grow yet far more considerable, by the Conquest of a City so rich as *Capua*. *Such, added those Ambassadors, is the wretchedness of our present Condition, that if we are not instantly relieved by our Friends, we must fall into the Hands of our Enemies. If you defend us, you will gain your selves Allies, that will ever after look upon you as the Restorers of their State, and the second Founders of their City. If you abandon us, Capua is no more, or at best becomes subject to the Samnites.*

The Senate were no Strangers to these Considerations, but as their Design was to get a more solid and real Advantage from the Assistance of their Arms, than a vain Title, and empty Praises, they barely answered the Ambassadors by the Mouth of the Consul, that their present Condition seemed worthy of Pity; and the *Romans* wished they could with Honour succour them; but that the Republick had an antient Alliance with the *Samnites*, which would not allow them to make a new one with their Enemies; that the Senate however would send Deputies to the Camp of the *Samnites*, to interpose in their Behalf, and to endeavour to procure them a Treaty of Peace, upon Conditions as easy as possible.

The chief of the Embassy, who was let into the secret of it, found he must make more advantageous Proposals, before they should induce the Senate to undertake the Defence of *Capua*. The Ma-

gistrates, who before their Departure, too well perceived that all that was now left them, was at most the Choice of their Masters, being inclinable rather to submit to Strangers, than to be subject to their Neighbours, had ordered this Ambassador, that if he could not obtain them the Quality of Allies to *Rome*, he shou'd rather make them its Subjects, than suffer *Capua* to fall into the Power of the *Samnites*. He therefore made answer to the Consul, that though the *Romans* would grant them nothing as Allies, he hoped however the Senate would not let the *Samnites* possess themselves of a City and Country, which he was charged to put under their Dominion. " In Consequence of  
 " which, added that Ambassador, we now give  
 " you, and subject to your Laws, the City of *Capua*,  
 " our Country, Dominions, Temples, and  
 " Persons. We acknowledge you for our Sovereigns,  
 " reigns, and protest in the presence of Gods and  
 " Men, that we will preserve an inviolable Fidelity to you.

The Senate having brought the Negotiation to the desired Point, solemnly accepted of the Donation of *Capua*. And as they were always willing to have Justice of their Side ; or, at least the Appearances of that Virtue, they sent Ambassadors to the *Samnites*, to inform them of this Treaty ; and at the same Time to desire them, in virtue of their ancient Alliance, to withdraw their Army out of a Country that belonged to the *Roman* People.

The *Samnites* enraged, that they should thus pretend to put a Stop to the Progress of their Arms, and to snatch the City of *Capua* almost out of their very Hands, cried out against this Treaty as a mere Trick. Their Magistrates with Indignation rejected the Proposal of the *Roman* Ambassadors, and when they went out of the Council, gave Orders to their General in their Presence, to destroy

destroy all before him in the Territory of *Capua*, with Fire and Sword. This was a very plain Explication of their Minds. Accordingly these new Hostilities were followed by a Declaration of War between the Two Nations. The Senate gave the Conduct of it to *M. Valerius Corvus*, and *A. Cornelius Cossus*. This War began the Four Hundred and Eleventh Year from the Foundation of *Rome*. It was pushed on through the whole Course of it, with equal Animosity on both Sides, and though sometimes interrupted with short Truces, it still began again with the same Fury. The *Cis-alpine Gauls*, the *Tuscans*, the *Tarentines*, the *Latins*, and even the *Greeks* and *Africans*, took Part in it. *Pyrrhus*, King of *Epirus*, the greatest Captain of his Age, crossed the Sea in Favour of the *Tarentines*. And the *Carthaginians*, who now began to get Footing in *Sicily*, and aimed at the total Subjection of it, sent them divers Succours to put a stop to the *Roman* Conquests. It was a Flame that by degrees spread all over *Italy*, and which was not quenched without whole Streams of Blood. Many great Battels were fought, and with various Success. The *Romans*, at first Victors, but afterwards vanquished, but never discouraged, took Arms again with fresh Obstinacy. Such a Thing as Flight was not known in their Armies. The Soldier was resolved to conquer or die; and more *Romans* were punished for having fought without Orders, than for having given Ground, or quitted their Posts. At length, after a continual War for above Threescore and Ten Years, the Courage of the *Romans*, and the heroic Valour that appeared in the common Soldiers as well as in the Officers; their Patience in Labours, their Military Discipline, but above all the Love of their Country, gave them a compleat Triumph over their Enemies. The Nation of the *Samnites* was almost destroyed, *Pyrrhus* was drove out of *Italy*; *Tarentum* was taken, and its Walls

Year of  
Rome,  
410.

Year of  
Rome,  
417.

demolished. And *L. Furius Camillus* Consul, giving the Senate an Account of the Extremity to which he had reduced the *Latins*: *The Gods*, says he to the Senators, *have made you so powerful, that it now depends on your Will whether Latium shall be any more.*

The *Romans* granted not Peace to the vanquished Nations, but on very hard Conditions. The Senate, according to their usual Politicks, took from each a Part of their Territories. But this Policy being carried too far, ruined the Country, and afterwards occasioned even in *Rome* it self, very dangerous Seditions. The Great by a mutual Connivance, appropriated to themselves part of those Lands. Their Possessions by degrees grew to be petty States, which they Peopled with the infinite Number of Slaves they had made in so long a War. And the original Husbandmen being despoiled of their Inheritance, deserted a Country where they could no longer subsist.

The People, and their *Tribunes*, renewed their Complaints against an Abuse almost as antient as the Constitution of the Republick. They endeavoured to revive the Regulation of *Licinius*, and the Decree that fixed the Possessions of every *Roman* Citizen to Five Hundred Acres at most; but the Laws were not heard amidst the Noise of Arms. There was then so many, both *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, Infractors of the Law, that it was in vain to hope to reform them. The Attempt had certainly been without Success; being joint Accomplices in the same Usurpation, and all at the Head of Armies, or in the chief Posts of the Commonwealth, nothing cou'd withstand their Power; and the Wars that soon after happened with the *Carthaginians*, left them no Leisure to take care of new Regulations at Home.

Hitherto we have seen the Arms of the Republick employed only in the Continent of *Italy*.  
The

The *Romans* were almost Five Hundred Years before they could subdue the *Latins*, the *Tuscan*s, the *Samnites*, and their Allies. But they had no sooner fixed their Dominion in those great Provinces, that stretch quite from the *Rubicon*, to the furthest Extremity of *Italy*, but they thought of passing the Sea. The Succour given by the *Carthaginians* to the *Tarentines* was the Pretence, but the Conquest of *Sicily*, the true Cause. *Rome* and *Carthage* bent their whole Forces against each other. The Neighbourhood and Jealousy of these Two great Commonwealths, bred between them a most bloody War, of which *Sicily* was the first Stage. This War afterwards was carried into *Africa*, from whence it extended into *Spain* and *Italy*. We shall relate the various Events of it but very concisely, that we may not wander too far from the principal Subject of this Work.

*Carthage*, a Colony of the *Phenicians*, was built upon the Coast of *Africa*, near the Place where the City of *Tunis* now stands, about a Hundred and Thirty Seven Years before the Foundation of *Rome*. *Lybia* acknowledged her Empire. She always maintained strong Fleets, which made her Mistress of the Sea, and of Commerce, and which had extended her Dominion quite to the Coasts of *Spain*, and in the Islands of *Sicily*, *Corfica*, and *Sardinia*.

All her Citizens were Merchants. A continual Traffick had acquired them such great Riches, that they despised the Profession of Arms. If they happened to be engaged in a War, they bought Troops, and were often forced to hire their very Generals. This trading Republick thought their Money was every Thing. *Rome*, on the contrary, nursed in her Bosom a hardy Militia. All her Citizens were Soldiers; not a Man was exempted from going to the War; the Foot Soldier was obliged to serve Twenty Years, and the Horseman



Ten, before he could get his Discharge; and very few ever solicited for it. Whenever there was occasion to march to the Field, you might have seen the *Veteran* offering himself with the same Ardour as the youngest, and all resolved either to conquer or die.

Such was the State of these Two Republicks, when the War between them broke out. The Power of the one lay in her Legions and Land Forces; and the other was no less formidable in her Fleets and Naval Armies. The *Romans* shut up in the Continent of *Italy*, had no Experience in Marine Affairs. *Appius Claudius*, Consul, Son of the Dictator, whom we just now spoke of, and Brother of *Appius Claudius*, the Blind, was the first, that by the help of a few Floats, transported Troops into *Sicily*; which gave him the Name of *Caudex*, as having found out the Art of fastening Planks together to make Transports. These Floats quickly came to be Ships and Gallies, among a People diligent, ingenious, and not to be discouraged by Labour, who improved by every Thing, and learnt of their very Enemies, the Art and Means of conquering them. A *Carthaginian* Gally, drove by Stress of Weather upon the Coast of *Italy*, served the *Romans* for a Model to build the like. They laboured at their new Invention with so much Eagerness, that in Two Months Time *Duillius* put to Sea a Fleet, which defeated that of the *Carthaginians*. The Joy which *Rome* conceived at this first Naval Victory, made them, in order to preserve the Memory of it, give a kind of Perpetuity to the Conqueror's Triumph; and *Duillius*, with the Consent of the Senate, every Time that he returned from feasting with his Friends for the Remainder of his Life, was brought Home with Flambeaux, and with the Sound of Flutes.

Year of  
Rome,  
489.  
Polyb. L. 1.  
Zonaras  
L. 2.

Cic. de  
Senectute.  
Va'. Max.  
L. 3. C. 6.  
Flo. L. 2.  
Polyb.  
Year of  
Rome,  
493.

We shall not dwell upon the Consequences of this War, which are not to our Subject, nor upon the Battels and Sieges that happened in *Sicily*; It is enough to observe, that the *Romans* having made themselves Masters of *Agrigentum*, and of the chief Towns in that Island; that having taken *Aleria*, the Capital of *Corfica* and *Olbia* in *Sardinia*, they carried the War, and the Terror of their Arms, to the very Gates of *Carthage*.

*L. Manlius*, and *Q. Ceditius*, Consuls, were intrusted with the Care of this Expedition, but *Ceditius* dying in his Consulate, he was succeeded by *M. Attilius Regulus*, a Consular Person, and a great Captain, austere in his Manners, as strict over himself, as over others, and that still retained the Temperance and Disinterestedness of the first *Romans*.

These Two Generals set sail with a Fleet of Three Hundred and Forty Ships, with a Hundred and Forty Thousand Land Forces. The *Carthaginians* sent against them a Fleet as numerous, composed of lighter Ships, and that were better Sailers. But the *Carthaginian* Soldier was far from equalling the *Roman* in Valour. The Fight was long and obstinate, and Fortune more than once went over from one Side to the other. While rather the Ships fought than the Men, the *Carthaginians* got the better by their Skill and Experience; but the *Romans*, whose Ships were clumsily built, heavy and unmanageable, having grappled with those of the *Carthaginians*, they began to fight Foot to Foot, and as it were on firm Land. Then the Valour of the *Romans*, who fought in the Presence of their Consuls, prevailed over Strangers, and Auxiliary Troops, who make War as they would drive a Trade only for their Bread, without desire of Glory, or Zeal for the Cause they serve. The *Carthaginian* Fleet dispersed in Flight, and left the Passage free to the *Romans*, who landing upon

Polyb.

L. 1. Zonaras. Eutrop. Orosius. Florus.

upon the Coast of *Africa*, took the Town *Clupea* at the first Onset, and afterwards ravaged the Enemies Country, from whence they brought off Twenty Thousand Captives.

Val. Max.

L. 4. c. 4.

The Consuls sent Advice to *Rome* of this Victory, and desired new Orders. The Senate returned Answer, that they would have *Manlius* bring back part of the Fleet to *Italy*, to defend the Conquests in *Sicily*, and that *Regulus* should carry on the War in *Africa*. The Time of his Consulate being expired, he was continued in the same Employment with the Title of Pro-Consul, but soon after he desired a Successor, and his Discharge, upon Information which he had received, that the Farmer who cultivated Seven Acres of Land, which was this General's whole Inheritance, was dead, and that his Servant had stole his Utensils of Tillage. *Regulus* represented to the Senate in his Letters, that his Wife and Children were in danger of starving, if he himself did not come to repair the State of his Affairs by his own Presence and Labour. The Senate, that they might not interrupt the Course of *Regulus's* Victories, decreed that his Wife and Children should be provided with Necessaries, and his Land cultivated at the Publick Charge, and that new Instruments should be bought for the Tillage of it: A very small Reward if we look to the Value; but more honourable to the Memory of that virtuous *Roman*, than all those Pompous Titles, with which we daily varnish the Possessions of those Upstarts, that enriched themselves only by Rapine; and whose Names will be known to Posterity; only be the Calamities which their Avarice occasioned in the Countries where they made War.

*Manlius* brought back to the Coast of *Italy* part of the Fleet laden with Booty, and Seven and Twenty Thousand Prisoners. *Regulus*, on his Side, having received the Orders of the Senate, went

on with his Conquests. The *Carthaginians* were resolved to put a stop to them ; they ventured a Bat-tel, wherein they were defeated, and lost their best Troops. This new Victory finished the throwing the whole Country into a Consternation ; above Fourscore Places surrendered to the *Romans*. The *Numidians*, the ancient Subjects of *Carthage*, rose at the same Time, and plundered the Coun-try ; and the Peasants who fled every where from their Habitations, flung themselves into *Carthage*, where by their Numbers, and extream Want, they quickly brought Famine and Contagion.

The *Carthaginians*, who had no Leaders nor Generals among themselves of sufficient Experience, to be opposed to *Regulus*, sent as far as *Lacedamon*, to offer the Command of their Armies to *Xantip-pus*, a Captain famous in his own Country, and throughout all *Greece* ; and at the same Time they dispatched the principal Men of their Senate to demand Peace of *Regulus*. This General, who would have been very glad to have returned to *Rome*, with the Glory of having put an End to this War, did not refuse to enter into Negotiation. But as he held *Carthage* invested by different Bo-dies of his Troops, which were Masters of all the Posts round it, and there was no Army on Foot able to oblige him to raise the Siege ; he expected to prescribe the Terms of the Treaty, and de-manded that the *Carthaginians* should put into his Hands the Places they still possessed in *Sicily* and *Sardinia* ; that they should freely restore the Pri-soners they had taken ; and that besides paying a Ransom for their Countrymen, they should defray the Charges of the War, and subject themselves to an Annual Tribute. *Regulus* further insisted, that the *Carthaginians* should not make either War or Alliance, without the Participation of the Senate ; that they should have but one single great Ship ; and that whenever they received Orders from  
*Rome*,

Rome, they shou'd be obliged to send Fifty Gallies compleatly equipped for War, to serve wherever the Interest of the Republick should make it requisite.

The Deputies of *Carthage* represented to the *Roman* General, the Hardness of these Conditions. But *Regulus*, who thought himself Master of the Country, answered haughtily, *That Enemies must either conquer, or submit to the Law of the Conqueror.* They parted without concluding upon any Thing, and the *Carthaginian* Magistrates, enraged that the *Romans* should endeavour to impose such Conditions upon them, as must reduce them to little less than Slavery, caused all the Inhabitants to take Arms. *Xantippus*, the *Lacedemonian*, arrived about the same Time, put himself at their Head, and having rallied what Troops they had left, marched out into the open Field, and offered Battel to the *Romans*. He chose out for his Camp a Plain, where the Elephants he had in his Army might have an Opportunity of fighting, and more advantageous to the Cavalry, wherein he exceeded the *Romans*. *Regulus*, in the same Policy, and as being the stronger in Infantry, ought to have kept to the Mountains and Heights; but his Soldiers despising the *Greek* General, and Troops which they had so often vanquished, demanded the Fight with great Shouts. *Regulus* had not Power to restrain them; the Battel was fought in the Plain; he was defeated: His Foot could not withstand the Enemies Horse. The *Romans* lost above Thirty Thousand Men of their own Nation and Allies; and the General himself was made Prisoner. The *Carthaginians* treated him very roughly, and more like a Criminal, than a Prisoner of War. They loaded him with Chains, and buried him in a Dungeon, where he was kept almost Four Years. There he must have perished; but the *Carthaginians* having in that Time lost several considerable

Year of  
Rome,  
498.

ble Battels both by Sea and Land, they took *Regulus* out of his Prison to send him to *Rome*, to solicit a Peace, or at least an Exchange of Prisoners. The Magistrates, before they put him on Board, exacted a Promise from him, that if he could obtain no Conditions of the *Romans*, he should come back to *Carthage*, and return to his Chains: It was farther hinted to him, that his Life depended upon the Success of his Negotiation.

It was none of the Senate's Fault, that a Peace was not concluded, or at least the Exchange of Prisoners agreed to. That Body thought they could not purchase too dear the Liberty and Safety of such a Citizen as *Regulus*. But the greatest Obstacle to the Conclusion of the Treaty, came from the very Man that was commissioned to negotiate it. *Regulus* being arrived at *Rome*, laid before the Senate, that by a little Constancy, and continuing the War, they would be sure to subdue the *Carthaginians*. That as to the Exchange of Prisoners, the whole Advantage would be on the Side of the Enemy, whose chief Officers, and best Soldiers were detained at *Rome*; whereas the *Carthaginians* had but few *Romans*, and those, Men advanced in Years, or Cowards, from whom no Service could be expected. In a word, this generous *Roman* argued so forcibly against his own Interest, that he made them resolve upon the Continuation of the War. And without entering his House, or seeing either his Wife or Children, for fear of being softened by their Tears, he returned to *Carthage*, to disengage his Word; he perished there in the most cruel Torments.

The Two Nations again took up Arms with the same Animosity. The Success was various: At length Two Sea Fights, in which the *Romans* had the better, one under the Command of *M. Fabius* *Buteo*, Consul, and the other under that of *C. Lu-*  
*tatius*

Zonaras.  
App. Alex.  
in Lybicā.  
Gell. L. 6.  
Val. Max.  
L. 6. & 9. L.  
Flor. Au-  
tor de vi-  
ris illust.

Tear of  
Rome,  
506.

Tear of  
Rome,  
511:

*tatius Catulus*, forced the *Carthaginians* to sue for Peace again. *Rome* granted it ; but *Rome* inflexible, and sometimes even cruel to vanquished Enemies, gave them not Peace, but upon very hard Conditions. They were forced to deliver up to the *Romans* the Town and Port of *Lilibaum* in *Sicily* ; to abandon that Island entirely ; to restore all Prisoners without Ransom ; to yield up all Deserters ; to pay down a Thousand Talents for the Charge of the War, and Two Thousand Two Hundred in Ten Years, by way of Tribute. The *Carthaginians*, quite exhausted, subscribed to any Thing, and the Treaty was concluded under the Consulate of *Q. Lutatius* and *A. Manlius*, in the 512th Year from the Foundation of *Rome*.

Liv. l. 30.

App.  
Alex. in  
Lybicā.  
Tear of  
Rome,  
535.

But it was not so much a Peace as a Truce. The *Carthaginians* being the weakest, struck it up only to gain Time to repair their Forces. They no sooner found themselves in a Condition to maintain a new War, but they took up Arms again with more Fury than ever. The Siege they laid to *Saguntum*, a Town of *Spain*, in Alliance with the *Romans*, was the Pretence of this War, and *Hannibal* the real Author of it. He was born a Soldier, and a continual Exercise of Arms made him a great Captain. It was in this War, that he gave such glorious Proofs of those superior Talents, which set him so much above the *Roman* Generals ; always just in his Schemes ; immense Views ; an admirable Genius at hitting the true Time for the Execution of his Designs ; the greatest Artifice in acting, without being discovered ; infinite in Expedients ; as skilful in recovering himself out of Danger, as in drawing others into it ; for the rest, without Faith, without Religion, without Humanity, and yet having the Art to put on all the Appearances of these Virtues, as far as was subservient to his Interest.

Such

Such was the famous *Hannibal*, when he formed the boldest Project that ever Captain durst conceive, and which was justified by nothing but the Event. From the very remotest Part of *Spain*, he resolved to carry the War into *Italy*, and to attack the *Romans* in the very Center of their Dominions, without having there one strong Place, one Magazine, any certain Assistance, or the least Hopes of a Retreat. He marches quite through the Heart of *Spain* and *Gaul*, passes the *Alps*, and encamps boldly upon the very Banks of the *Tesin*. It was here that the first Battel was fought; the *Romans* were defeated, and the Consul, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, their General, must have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy, if his Son, *Publius Scipio*, had not flown to his Assistance. This young Man, who was not yet Seventeen Years old, seeing his Father enclosed by a Body of the Enemy, broke his Way alone quite up to him, dispersed with his Sword all that surrounded him, and brought him off, just as he was upon the Point of being taken or slain.

*Tear of Rome, 535.*

As the Particulars of this War are not to my Subject, I shall only observe, that the *Romans*, under the Command and Consulate of *Tiberius Sempronius*, *Scipio's* Colleague, lost a Second Battel near the River *Trebia*. The Overthrow which *Flaminius* received near the Lake *Trafumenus*, was still greater; and the Defeat at *Canna* drove *Rome* to the very Brink of Destruction. The Republick lost Fifty Thousand Men; and the Conqueror sent to *Carthage* Two Bushels of Gold Rings, to show the incredible Number of *Roman* Knights that were slain in this Battel. This Day had been the last the *Romans* would ever have seen, if *Hannibal* had known as well how to make use of his Victory, as he knew how to obtain it. All he had to do, was to appear before the Gates of the City, and he had been Master of it without striking

*Tear of Rome, 536. Tear of Rome, 537.*



king a Blow. The Consternation was general in Rome, and all the Parts adjacent. But the *Carthaginian* General, though one of his Officers assured him he might sup in the Capitol, suffered himself to be overcome by the Pleasures of *Capua*; pretending that he must give his Troops a little Repose, he stayed in *Campania* after his Victory; and as if he had been afraid of putting an End to the War too soon, or had acted in concert with the *Romans*, he gave them Time to recover out of their Consternation. This small Interval was the first Step to their Preservation. The young *Scipio* had the Wisdom to take the Advantage of it, and he who had saved his Father's Life in the Battel of *Tesin*, saved all *Italy* after the Battel of *Canna*.

He was then no more than a Tribune in a Legion, and the Evening after the Battel, he was retired with a great many other Officers into a Neighbouring Town, which still held for the *Romans*. *Scipio* was informed, that those Officers who were of the best Families in *Rome*, and the only Hope which the Republick had left, being assembled at the House of one *Metellus*, and despairing to save the Commonwealth, were resolved to embark at the first Port, and abandon *Italy*. So base a Thought stirred up his utmost Indignation; he resolved to oppose it, though with the hazard of his Life, and turning to some other Officers that happened to be with him: *Let those*, says he, *who value the Safety of Rome, follow me*. He goes directly to the House where the aforesaid Council was held, enters, and drawing his Sword, "I swear, says he, that I will never abandon the Republick, nor suffer any of her Citizens to do it." And then addressing himself to the Master of the House; "You, says he, and all that are here, shall take the same Oath, or not a Man shall escape". These Threats, the Fire and  
Rage

Livy, Dec.  
3. L. 2.  
C. 12.

Rage that flashed from his Eyes, his Zeal for his Country, his Courage, his Intrepidity, all these made them immediately come into the same Engagement. The very Shame of having been discovered in such a Design, recalled their antient Valour; they mutually gave each other their Faith, and vowed rather to be buried under the Ruins of their Country, than to desert her. Every Man dispersed the next Morning; some repaired to *Rome* to defend it, if the Enemy should lay Siege to it. Others laboured either to rally the Fugitives, or to raise new Levies about the Country. The Inhabitants of *Rome*, who expected every Moment to have seen *Hannibal* at their Gates, began to take Breath. The Senate gathered Courage; the meaner Sort of People shook off their Fear, and though there was at *Rome* neither Men, nor Arms, nor Money, all these Defects were made up by that Love of their Country, which was the true Character of a *Roman*. Some freely gave their Slaves to serve as Soldiers; others strove who shou'd first bring in what Gold or Silver they had; and they took down from the Roofs of the Temples old Arms, which had been hung up there as Trophies, and with these they armed part of this new Militia.

The War began again with fresh Spirit. The Senate gave the Management of it to *Q. Fabius Maximus*, who, by avoiding a Battel, hit upon the true way to conquer *Hannibal*. The General of the *Carthaginians* stood in need of continual Victories, to enable him to maintain himself in a Country so remote from his own, where he was often without Money or Provisions, and where he cou'd get no Supplies from *Africa*. His whole Reliance was upon the infinite Affection of his Soldiers, who perfectly adored him. One can never enough admire how in an Army, consisting of Soldiers picked up by Chance, *Numidians*, *Spaniards*, *Gauls*,

and *Ligurians*, who often wanted Bread, the bare Presence of *Hannibal* shou'd prevent the least Murmuring; and that all without so much as understanding the Language of one another, shou'd jointly conspire to give Success to their General's Designs.

Year of  
Rome,  
541.  
Liv. Dec.  
3. 5.

But notwithstanding his great Capacity, he must at last give way to the Conduct and Fortune of the *Romans*. They resumed over him the Superiority they had lost by the first Battel; he now learnt, that in Affairs of War, there are some favourable and decisive Moments, which once lost, never return. And the young *Scipio* being become General, taught him by severe Experience, that he was capable of being conquered.

Livy.

Year of  
Rome,  
542.  
Polyb. l.  
10.

His Father *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Cneius*, his Uncle, both perished in *Spain*, commanding the Armies of the Republick. By the Death of these Two Brothers, *Spain* had been entirely lost from the *Romans*, if an ordinary Knight, *L. Martius*, had not rallied the Fugitives, and defeated one of the Two *Asdrubals*, who commanded the *Carthaginian* Army in those Provinces; nevertheless, nobody at *Rome* cared to put up for the Conduct of the War, in a Country where the Enemy was yet so much the stronger. The young *Scipio*, though scarce Four and Twenty Years old, offered himself, thinking it was only his Business to revenge the Death of his Father and Uncle. He was sent thither with the Title of Proconsul; he beat the Enemies Generals upon several Occasions, and Five Years after his Arrival, there was not a *Carthaginian* left in *Spain*.

From thence he passed over to *Africa*, almost contrary to the Will of the Senate; and as his Undertaking seemed rash and presumptuous, the Republick at first would not supply him either with Troops or Money. His Reputation, Valour, and Affability, procured him Soldiers. They strove  
who

who should first lift himself under so great a Captain; he was soon at the Head of a considerable Army. He was a Second *Hannibal*; he had all his Virtues without his Faults. He landed in *Africa*, while the *Carthaginians* were continuing the War in *Italy*.

He first gained over to the Side of the Republic, the Two Kings, *Syphax* and *Massinissa*. The former afterwards changed his Party; he was defeated in a bloody Battel, together with *Asdrubal*, General of the *Carthaginians*, and had the Misfortune to fall into the Hands of *Lelius* the Wise, as *Cicero* calls that Officer, who was the intimate Friend, and one of the Lieutenants of *Scipio*.

*Year of*  
*Rome,*  
*551.*

*Cicero* Offic.  
2. in Orat.  
pro Arch.  
& pro  
Murana.

I shall not dwell upon the Course of this War. *Scipio*, after having gained a Second Victory over the *Carthaginians*, gave them in their Turn, Apprehensions of seeing him before their Walls. *Hannibal* was recalled to the Assistance of his Country, and returned to *Africa* the Sixteenth Year of this War. At first there was some talk of Peace; nay, there was an Interview between *Scipio* and *Hannibal*; but not coming to any Agreement, it plainly appeared that the Sword alone must decide the Pretensions of the Two Republics.

The Armies soon meet; the Battel was fought near *Zama*. The Dispute was for Empire and Liberty; both Generals upon this Occasion employed their utmost Capacity in taking Advantage of the Disposition of the Ground, and ordering their Troops for Battel. The Soldiers, on their Parts, fought like Men that were animated with the Spirit and Courage of those Two great Leaders. The Success was long doubtful; at length the Victory remained with *Scipio*. The *Carthaginians* lost Twenty Thousand Men, slain upon the Spot, and as many were made Prisoners of War.

Year of  
Rome,  
552.

Polyb. L.  
14. App.  
Alex.  
Zonaras.

Peace was the Fruit of this Victory. The *Carthaginians* having quite spent their Strength, sued for it with the Consent even of *Hannibal* himself. The *Romans* did not grant it without Conditions, which might be looked upon as a Second Victory. They stripped the *Carthaginians* of their Fleets, and their Elephants: They were forced to restore the Prisoners of War, and to deliver up the Deserters. Immense Sums were also exacted from them. And which they thought still more rigorous, they were forbid to send Ambassadors, to make any Alliance, or the least Armament, without the Knowledge, and express Permission of the Senate.

So strict and mortifying a Dependance did not yet satisfy the Ambition of the *Romans*. *Carthage*, yet in Being, daily recalled the Memory of the Battels of *Trasimenus* and *Canna*. *Rome* resolved to destroy an Object that gave them such disagreeable Reflections. This was the Cause of the Third Punick War. The young *Scipio*, Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, and who was adopted by *Scipio*, the Son of *Africanus*, entirely ruined that stately City, which had presumed to dispute the Empire of the World with *Rome*. The Inhabitants were dispersed into several Parts, and *Carthage* was nothing now but a vain Name.

Year of  
Rome,  
607.  
App. Alex.  
in Lybicā.  
Strabo. L.  
ultim.

This City subdued, and then ruined, lifted up the Hearts of the *Romans*. Those who a few Years before had fought for the Defence of *Rome*, now aspired to the Conquest of the whole World. They carried their Arms into *East* and *West*. *Antiochus* the Great, who reigned over the better Part of *Asia*, was defeated, and constrained to retire to the other Side of Mount *Taurus*. The *Insubrians* and the *Ligurians* were conquered: *Macedon*, after various Wars, which it is not my Business to treat of here, was reduced into a Province as well as *Illyrium*. And the *Greeks* endeavouring to with-  
draw

draw themselves from the Dependance of the *Achaans*, fell under the Dominion of the *Romans*, who in less than one Century, extended their Conquests over the Three Parts of the Continent. All *Italy*, all *Spain*, *Illyrium*, quite to the *Danube*, *Africa*, *Greece*, *Thrace*, *Macedon*, *Syria*, all the Kingdoms of *Asia Minor*, were Members of this vast Empire; and the *Romans* struck the Terror of their Arms, and the Respect of their Power into the most barbarous Nations.

The Luxury of the *East* came to *Rome* with the Spoils of those great Provinces. To maintain it, they began to make Interest for the Offices of the Republick, the Profit of which increased with the Empire. The Manners of the *Romans* received a Change with their Fortune, and one wou'd think it was another Nation that is now going to appear upon the Stage. We shall indeed find among them more Skill in the Art of War, Generals of more Capacity, and Armies almost invincible; all these managed by a Policy steady, provident, and always consistent with it self: But then we shall find less Equity in their Counsels. The Pleasure of Conquest and Dominion soon corrupted that exact Probity, formerly so esteemed in the *Romans* by their very Enemies. Ambition took the Place of Justice in their Undertakings; a sordid Avarice, and private Regards succeeded the Care of the Publick Good: Love of their Country was turned into an Adherence to Leaders of Factions. In a word, Victory, Peace, and Plenty, destroyed that Concord between the Great and the People, which the Employment given them by the Punick Wars had before maintained. And the Two *Gracchi*, by renewing Proposals, just in all Appearance, but not at all convenient in the present State of the Republick, kindled the first Sparks of the Civil Wars we are now going to speak of.

*Tiberius Gracchus*, and *Caius Gracchus*, were Sons of *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus*, a Consular Person, a great Captain, and who had been honoured with Two Triumphs ; but one that was yet more illustrious for the Excellency of his Manners, and his perfect Disinterestedness : Virtues which now began to be remarkable, as being less common than formerly among the Romans. The *Sempronian* Family, though *Plebeian*, was one of the greatest Distinction in the Commonwealth, since the People had been admitted indifferently with the Nobles into the first Dignities of the State.

The Mother of the *Gracchi*, named *Cornelia*, was Daughter of the great *Scipio*. *Tiberius*, her Eldest Son, was Married to the Daughter of *Appius Claudius*, the Prince of the Senate ; *Caius* to that of *Publius Crassus* ; their Sister, named *Sempronia*, was Married to the young *Scipio*, Son of *Paulus Æmilius*. So that these Two Brothers, by several Alliances, were related to the chief Families in the Republick.

Vol. Pa-  
terc. L. 2.

These Advantages in *Tiberius*, were supported by a Noble Air, an engaging Countenance, and all those winning Graces of Nature, which serve as a Recommendation to Merit. At the same Time, says an ancient Historian, he had acquired all the Virtues that can be expected from an excellent Education, abundance of Wisdom, Moderation, Frugality, and Publick Spirit. His Mind was besides adorned with the finest Parts of Learning ; and at Thirty Years Old, he was accounted the best Orator of his Age. His Style was pure, his Terms choice, his Expression simple, but always noble, and so moving, that he stole away the Assent of all that heard him.

His Enemies gave out, that beneath Manners so insinuating, he concealed an inordinate Ambition, an implacable Hatred against the Senate, and an extravagant Zeal for the Interest of the People, which

which he made the Motive or Pretence of all his Undertakings.

It was this Adherence to the Interest of the People, and perhaps an Inclination to distinguish himself, that made him take up the Design of the Partition of Lands; an old Pretension, which the Great Men of *Rome* thought quite extinguished by Oblivion and Prescription, but which he undertook to revive; though he well foresaw the strong Resistance he shou'd meet with on the Part of the Senate; nay, and from the richer Sort among the People. It is said, that he was inspired with this Design by his Mother *Cornelia*, a Woman fond of Glory; and who, to stir up her Son's Ambition, had given him a kind of Reproach, because she was called in *Rome*, only the Mother-in-Law of *Scipio*, and not the Mother of the *Gracchi*. She was continually giving him to understand, that it was Time he shou'd make himself known by his own Actions; that indeed, his Brother-in-Law *Scipio* stood in the first Rank among the Captains and Generals of the Republick, but that he, in another Course, and by Laws useful to the People, had still room to make himself a great Name; that this was the only Way he had left to raise himself to some Degree of Equality with the Conqueror of *Carthage*; and that by calling the People to a Share in the publick Lands, he would render himself no less famous than his Brother-in-Law had done by his Conquests.

But *C. Gracchus* wrote in a History quoted by *Plutarch*, that his Brother formed this Project of himself; and that a Journey which he made through part of *Italy* before his Tribuneship, had put it into his Thoughts. That Historian relates, that *Tiberius* observed with Surprize, that the Country which formerly was filled with rich Inhabitants, and afforded the Republick a serviceable Militia, was now Peopled with none but



Slaves, whose Condition exempted them from going to the Wars. That a Change so prejudicial to the Commonwealth had made him resolve to restore the *Lex Licinia* to its ancient Force and to bring the poorer Sort of People into a Share of those Lands, in order to relieve their Want, and enable them to raise up Children, that might come to fill the Legions. Which ever of these secret Motives be true, whether private Ambition, or Zeal for the Publick Good ; *Tiberius* was no sooner come to the Tribuneship, but he declared his Intention to revive the *Lex Licinia*. However, he proposed it with all the Mitigations that he thought would pacify the Usurpers of the Publick Lands.

We have heard before, that this Law forbid any Roman Citizen to possess above Five Hundred Acres of those Lands, upon pain of Ten Thousand *Asses* Fine. Nay, in the rigor of the Law, those who had infringed it, might be forced to repay into the Publick Treasury, the Produce of such Lands as exceeded the Quantity allowed by the Law. *Tiberius*, who thought he should obtain enough if he could only bring it again into Force, proposed a general Amnesty of all that was passed.

But the Grandees of Rome, and the Richest Citizens, who thought themselves above the Laws, rejected with Contempt this Qualification of one which they pretended was out of Date. Most of them in a full Assembly, called the Tribune a Promoter of Sedition, and a Disturber of the Publick Peace. *Tiberius*, without forgetting his Character, asked them with the greatest Moderation, Whether the Condition of the Inhabitants of the Country, who had neither Lands of their own, nor even of other Mens to cultivate, did not fill them with Compassion ? Whether they were not yet more moved at the Misery of their Fellow Citizens,

Citizens, who of all the Conquests which the Republick had made, had nothing left but the Scars of the Wounds which they had received in the Wars? What they themselves meant to do with that Multitude of Slaves, with which they had filled *Italy*, those Slaves, no less useles in War, than they were dangerous by their Numbers in Peace? Then addressing himself to the meaner Sort of People, he represented to them their own Wretchedness in a tender Manner, and so as to stir up their Indignation. " The wild Beasts, said he, " have Dens and Caverns to retire into ; while the " Citizens of *Rome* have not so much as a Roof " or a Cottage to shelter them from the Inclemency of the Weather, but are forced to wander about like miserable Exiles in the Heart of their own Country. They call you, added he, " the Lords and Masters of the Universe. What " Lords ! What Masters ! You, whom they have " not left so much as an Inch of Ground to serve " you even for a Grave !

Though *Tiberius's* Design was not so much to relieve the Poverty of private Persons, as to repopulate the Country, upon which he thought the Fortune of the Republick depended, yet these Discourses, which he often repeated, got him the Praises and the Affection of the Multitude. They were overjoyed at having a Tribune of so much Wisdom, and so full of Zeal for the Interests of the People. *Tiberius* having established his Credit, and finding the Minds of the Citizens in that Warmth and Emotion which was so necessary to the Success of his Designs, convened the Assembly, which was to proceed to the Publication, or to speak more properly to the Revival of the *Lex Licinia*.

*Tiberius* showed the Justice of this Law with so much Eloquence ; he made so frightful a Description of the Misery and Wretchedness of the meaner Sort

Sort of People, and of the Inhabitants of the Country; and at the same Time set forth in such odious Colours, the Usurpation of the Publick Lands, and the immense Riches, which the Avarice and Rapaciousness of the Great had raked together, that all the People as it were transported with Fury, with loud Cries, demanded the Billets that they might give their Suffrages.

The Rich, to keep off the Publication of the Law, privately conveyed away the Urns in which those Billets were preserved. This Fraud provoked the Tribunes Indignation, and the Rage of the People: A Thousand confused Noises arose in the Assembly. The Rich, who wanted nothing but to gain Time, sent Two Consular Persons to *Tiberius*, to beg him to appease the People, and to restore Quiet to the City.

*Manlius*  
and *Ful-*  
*sius.*

The Tribune asked them what he cou'd do, without being wanting to his Duty and his Honour? " Suspend for this one Day, answered the Two " Consulars, the Proposal of the Law; give Time " to Men, who are now too much blinded by their " Passion, to become less averse to Equity and " Reason; and in the meanwhile, the Senate will " find Ways to bring the different Parties to a " Reconciliation. *Tiberius* consented to their Request, and dismissed the Assembly. The Senate was convened the next Day. *Tiberius* relied upon the usual Condescension of that Body, and flattered himself, that the fear of a Sedition would oblige the Senators to yield up at length a part of the disputed Lands: And indeed there were several among them, that through a Principle of Equity, were for paying some Regard to the Complaints of the Tribune, and the Misery of the People. But the Parties concerned, who happened to be the greater Number, wou'd not hear of any Composition whatsoever. The Rich, who feared they shou'd be stripped of Lands on which they had

had built magnificent Edifices, shook with Anger and Indignation at the mere Name of *Tiberius*. Some said, that they had received these Lands from their Ancestors; that their Fathers were buried in them, and that they would defend their Tombs to the last Drop of their Blood. Others demanded to be repay'd the Portion of their Wives, which they had laid out in Purchases of that Nature: And there were some that produced Contracts, either real or forged, for Money which they had borrowed at great Interest, to buy the Lands which were now to be taken from them. Various Schemes were laid to hinder the Publication of the Law. Some were for privately ridiculing themselves of the Tribune, whom they called a Tyrant. Others more moderate, proposed several Ways to prevent the Assembly of the People. But at length they had Recourse to the Expedient of Opposition, which the Senate had often before made use of with great Success. All they had to do for this Purpose, was to gain over only one of the Tribunes of the People, who by the Privilege of his Office, had a Right, as we have said before, to oppose any Motion of his Colleagues. The Party of the Rich addressed themselves to *M. Octavius*: Though he was a Friend to *Tiberius*, there needed neither Prayers nor Promises to win him. His own Interest was sufficient to bring him into the Cabal, and he with the more Readiness undertook to withstand *Tiberius*, as he actually possessed a greater Quantity of conquered Lands than the Law allowed. Thus they were secure of his Opposition.

This underhand Negotiation was not managed with so much Privacy, but that *Tiberius* got some Knowledge of it: And he was also informed, that the opposite Party intended to create several Obstacles to the assembling of the People, or at least to their coming to any final Resolution; which  
was

was no hard Matter, in a City where Superstition reigned so despotically : and where no Laws cou'd be confirmed without taking the Auspices, and consulting the Priests and Augurs, who never failed to return Answers conformable to the Interests of the ruling Party.

*Tiberius* heard, not without Indignation, of the Impediments which were to be laid in his Way, to hinder the Execution of his Designs. But as he was one, who under the most gentle and insinuating Manners, preserved an invincible Courage, and unshaken Constancy, nothing was able to deter him. He first applied to his Colleague : He conjured him by the mutual Duties of their Function, and by the Bonds of an ancient Friendship, not to oppose the good of the People, whose Magistrates and Patrons they were obliged to be ; and to bring him over, he offered at his own Expence to make him Amends for the full Value of the Lands which he wou'd be obliged to restore. *Octavius* did not deny, that he was resolved to oppose the Publication of a Law, which must inevitably fill all the Families of *Rome* with Trouble and Confusion. He, added, that he himself wou'd meet with greater Obstacles than he imagined. And to shew himself no less generous than his Colleague, he rejected his Offers, and seemed immoveable in the Party he had embraced.

*Tiberius* having reflected upon what his Colleague had said to him, thought at last he had hit upon a way to elude his Opposition. Being at the same Time resolved to avoid the artful Methods, that had so often been practised, to put off the Assemblies of the People, or to hinder them from agreeing upon any Decree, he by a new Edict suspended all the Magistrates from their Functions, till the Law was either approved or rejected by the Voices of the People. He put his own Seal upon the Gates of the Temple of  
*Saturn,*

*Saturn*, where the Coffers of the Treasury were kept, to the Intent that neither the Quæstors nor Treasurers might have any Access to them; and subjected to great Fines all such Magistrates as shou'd not pay Obedience to his Order.

After having taken these Precautions, he called a new Assembly of the People. The Day being come, he commanded an Officer to read aloud the Law which he offered for their Acceptance. *Octavius* did not fail to oppose it, and to forbid the reading of it. This bred sharp Disputes between the Two Tribunes. But it was observed, that notwithstanding the Heat with which both maintained their Opinion, not a Word escaped from either, that cou'd give the other Offence. *Tiberius*, on the contrary, addressing himself to his Colleague in that winning Manner, which gained him all Men's Hearts, conjured him by their ancient Friendship to oppose the Interests of the People no longer, but generously to sacrifice his private Ties to the good of so many poor Families, whose Relief he deferred. *Octavius* replied, that he did not think the Law he proposed cou'd be executed, without ruining the greatest Families, which were the strongest Support to the Commonwealth, and occasioning in the City a vast Number of intricate Law-Suits upon account of Trusts. He added, That even though it were possible, without any Inconvenience, to recover out of the Hands of the Proprietors what Lands exceeded the Quantity of Five Hundred Acres, this Overplus, when divided among the infinite Numbers of poor Citizens that were then in *Rome*, would do them very little Service; that therefore he would never consent to the Publication of a Law, that wou'd ruin the Rich, without enriching the Poor.

The Great Men of *Rome* triumphed upon this Opposition; but *Tiberius*, who had a greater Capacity, or more Boldness than any that ever preceded

ceded him in the Tribuneship, defeated their Joy by a new and very extraordinary Expedient. " Since Custom, says he, addressing himself to " the Assembly, will not allow a Tribune to propose any new Law, if but one of his Colleagues " forbids it, it is but Justice that I shou'd submit to " the Opposition of *Octavius*. But then as the " Tribuneship was created, only with a View to " the redressing of the Peoples Grievances, and as " that Tribune, who forsakes this View, destroys " the very Foundation of his Institution; I demand, that the People, by Plurality of Voices, " decide which of the Two, *Octavius* or I, acts " most contrary to their Interests, and that he who " is judged to have failed in his Duty, and to " have abused his Privilege of Opposition, be immediately deposed. For, added *Tiberius*, if the " Roman People, to punish the Lust and Violence " of a single Man, had Power to deprive a King " of his Crown, and to suppress the Royal Dignity it self, in which the Authority of all other " Magistrates is comprehended; who can doubt, " but that the same People has power to abolish " the Tribuneship, if it grows incompatible with " their Liberty, and much more to depose a Tribune, if he abuses the Privileges of his Office, " and turns against the People themselves, a Power " with which he was intrusted only to procure " their Advantage? The People, who always find Justice in whatever makes for them, gave great Praises to an Argument more subtil than solid. The Expedient proposed by *Tiberius*, was unanimously approved, and they resolved to decide the very next Day, which of the Two Tribunes shou'd be excluded from the Tribuneship. *Tiberius*, who had found a Way to make his own Interest that of the People, was in no pain for himself; but as he was apprehensive, that *Octavius* wou'd refuse to expose his Dignity to such a Trial, he offered, in hopes

hopes to induce him to submit to the Judgment of the People, that he himself shou'd convene the Assembly, and preside in it. And the more to draw him into it, he added with a seeming Indifference, that for his Part, he shou'd lay down the Tribuneship with more Pleasure than he took it up.

*Octavius* did not give into this Snare; he too well knew to what a Degree *Tiberius*, who was the Idol of the People, was Master of their Voices; and besides, he was very cautious how he either convened the Assembly, or presided in it, for fear he shou'd by such a Step give Authority to a Decree to which he was sure of falling a Victim. *Tiberius*, upon his Refusal, called the Assembly himself for next Day. Never was there seen at *Rome* so numerous an Appearance of her Citizens. Rich and Poor, the Senate, the Grantees, and the principal Men of the City, all flocked to it with equal Expectation. It was a very extraordinary Spectacle to see Two Tribunes so hotly engaged against each other; and it had been no disagreeable Entertainment to the Senators, if in this famous Contention, the Loss of the Publick Lands had not been inseparable from *Octavius's* Deposal. *Tiberius* having ascended the *Rostrum*, once more exhorted his Colleague to withdraw his Opposition. But finding that he resolutely persisted in it, he proposed the Question to the Assembly, which of them Two the *Roman* People would remove. The Billets were immediately given out. Of Five and Thirty Tribes, into which they were then divided, Seventeen had already given their Voices against *Octavius*; and there now wanted the Suffrages of but one Tribe to compleat his Sentence, when *Tiberius* being willing to make one more Tryal, whether it was not possible to prevail upon him, suspended the Deliberation, and addressing himself to *Octavius*, conjured him in the most pressing Terms,



Terms, not to expose himself by his Obstinacy to so great a Disgrace, nor to give him the Grief of having been forced to dishonour his Colleague and his Friend.

It was observed, that *Octavius* could not hear these Words without Concern; the Tears came into his Eyes; but casting his Look towards the Senate, he was ashamed to break his Word with them, and boldly answered *Tiberius*, that he might finish his Work. That Tribune, full of Indignation at his Adherence to the Faction of the Rich, continued to gather the Votes: *Octavius* was deposed; the People tore him from his Tribunal, and in their Fury would have insulted him farther, had not the Grandees, whose Victim he had made himself, facilitated his Retreat.

This Obstacle being thus got over by the Removal of the Magistrate who had occasioned it, the *Lex Licinia* was revived with one Consent. Three Commissioners, or *Triumvirs*, were afterwards chosen to hasten its Execution. The People gave *Tiberius* the first Place in this Commission; and he had Interest enough besides to get for his Colleagues his Father-in-Law *Appius Claudius*, and his Brother *C. Gracchus*, though this young Roman was not above Twenty Years Old, and was then actually performing his first Exercises in War, at the Siege of *Numantia*, under *Scipio*, who was his Brother-in-Law. The People, as another Mark of their Favour, gave *Octavius's* Place to *Mutius*, an obscure Man, and one that had no Merit but the Recommendation of *Tiberius*; so that this *Plebeian* Magistrate, now grown absolute Master of the Tribuneship, and superior to the whole Senate, by Means of his Power over the Minds of the People, was as it were the sole Governor of the Republick; at least the other Magistrates could do nothing if he were against them, while he independently

pendently of all the rest, was sure of Success in every Thing he undertook.

This absolute Empire in a Republick, was odious to the Senate, and even to the *Plebeians* themselves. His Enemies took hold of this Advantage; they insinuated that their Liberty was in the greatest Danger; and many openly averred, that *Cassius* and *Melius*, who were put to Death, had never made themselves so suspicious: "Is it not certain," added they, "that when the Safety of the State is concerned, the bare Probability of a Crime ought to be punished? Shall we delay to stand up against *Tiberius*, till his Accomplices have set the Crown upon his Head?" These malicious Discourses lessened his Credit; and just about the same Time he lost one of his most zealous Adherents. The unexpected Death of that Friend, the Cause of which was unknown, gave a Suspicion that it was not natural.

The Rich and the Poor then formed Two Parties, very much embittered against each other, and that sought nothing but one another's Destruction. *Tiberius*, with Design to increase the Animosity of the People, and to show that he was apprehensive of an Assassination, suffered it to appear that he was armed under his Robe. He put on Habits of Mourning, as was the Custom in the greatest Calamities, and bringing his Children yet young into the *Forum*, and into the middle of the Assembly, he recommended them to the People in Terms, which gave to understand, that he despaired of his own Preservation. The People at this Sight returned no Answer, but by Outcries and Menaces against the Rich. Never did so much Hatred against the Senate appear before. *Tiberius* kept up this Aversion in the People; sometimes by working upon their Pity, and sometimes by Motives of Revenge, or by new Prospects of Advantage. This artful Tribune raised these various Sentiments

timents by Turns, according to the Disposition of Peoples Minds, and the Posture of Affairs.

The Death of *Attalus Philopator*, King of *Pergamus*, gave him a new Opportunity to bind the Multitude yet more firmly to himself. That Prince, by his Will, had named the *Roman* People to be his Heir. *Tiberius*, who always acted by the same Spirit, proposed a new Edict, which shoud decree that all the King of *Pergamus's* Treasure should be divided among the poorest of those Citizens, who were to have a Share in the Distribution of the publick Lands, in order to buy them Cattle, and the Utensils necessary for cultivating their little Inheritances. "As to the Cities, and their Territories, added *Tiberius*, I will make my Report of them to the People, when I am better informed in that Matter; and they shall dispose of them in their Assemblies, as a Legacy which belongs to them.

*Plutarch* writes, that of all *Tiberius's* Undertakings, none offended the whole Body of the Senate so much as this Design; which by referring to the People the Cognizance of so great an Affair, conveyed to them the whole Authority of the Government, and deprived the Senators of the immense Profit which they thought to have made by disposing of that Prince's Dominions. Ambition and Interest stirred up the highest Resentment in the chief Men of *Rome*. They publicly reproached *Tiberius*, that his Intent in giving the Disposol of *Attalus's* Kingdom to the People, was to have the Crown placed upon his own Head. He was even accused of endeavouring to make himself the Tyrant of his own Country; nay, there were some who reported that he had beforehand got Possession of *Attalus's* Royal Diadem, and Purple Robe. But these injurious Calumnies, which proceeded from nothing but the Aversion of the Great, did not at all agree with the Character

rafter of *Tiberius*. Never Man was more a Republican than that Tribune. All that he had done in the Business of the Partition of the Lands; had no other End but to bring the Condition of the poor Citizens nearer to that of the Rich, and to establish a kind of Equality among them all.

It is true, he afterwards carried this Principle too far, and perceiving that his Laws had provoked an implacable Hatred against him in the Great, and that his Death was resolved upon, he kept no farther Measures. He applied himself wholly to undermine the Authority of the Senate, and to secure himself an Asylum in the Power of the People. It was with this View that he was daily proposing new Laws. At one Time he was for diminishing the Number of Years which the Soldiers were obliged to serve; at another he demanded, that it might be lawful to appeal to the Assembly of the People from the Judgments of all other Magistrates. But of all the Blows which he gave to the Authority of the Senate, there was none that struck so deep, as the new Proposal he made to put as many Knights as Senators into the several Tribunals of *Rome*.

*Tiberius* gave the People a Prospect of Laws so much to their Advantage, only that they might continue him in the Tribuneship, to prosecute the passing of them. The Senate, enraged at these new Enterprizes, formed a strong Cabal to keep him out of it. The Magistrates, the Grandees, the Richest of *Rome*, and even some Tribunes of the People who were jealous of his great Credit, listed themselves in this Party. And the Day of Election being come, as the Tribune, who presided in the Assembly, had a great Influence over the Votes, they disputed that Right with *Mutius*, a Creature of *Tiberius*, though it was devolved to him by the Deposal of *Ostavius*, whom he represented.

This



This Opposition of the *Tribunes* seemed to *Tiberius* an ill Omen: He plainly found there was a strong Party formed against him. In order to come to a Knowledge of its Power and Designs, he contrived to spend the whole Time of the Assembly in Disputes with his Colleagues about the Presidency; and Night coming on, the Election was forced to be put off till the next Day.

He employed that whole Night in securing the Heads of the People. His Adherents dispersing themselves into different Parts of the City, exhorted the *Plebeians* to repair betimes to the *Forum*. Most of them to show their Zeal, came before break of Day. The Great and Rich being informed that the People had got Possession of the *Forum*, resolved to drive them out by open Force, rather than suffer *Tiberius* to be continued in the Tribuneship. They got together for their Guard their Clients, their Domesticks, and their Slaves, who were privately armed with Sticks, and expected them at the Door of the Senate.

*Tiberius*, who knew nothing of their Designs, prepared to go to the *Forum*. But he had unlucky Prefages which kept him back, and which Superstition and Prejudice then regarded as the surest Interpreters of the Will of the Deity.

Word was brought him that the Sacred Fowls had that Morning refused to eat. As he went out of his House, he hurt his Foot against the Threshold of his Door, and he had not got far, when some Ravens that were fighting threw a Tile down at his Feet. This, in those Days, was enough to withhold the most daring. The Tribune, affrighted at these Omens, was going to return Home; but a certain *Greek* Philosopher, an intimate Friend of *Tiberius*, laughing at these vulgar Prejudices, put him in Mind what a Shame it would be to *Tiberius Gracchus*, Tribune of the *Roman* People, Son of a Consular, and Grandson of the great *Scipio*,

*Scipio*, if it were said, that though he was at the Head of a powerful Party, the croaking of Two Crows put him off from the Execution of his Designs.

This Reproach made the Tribune ashamed of his Weakness, and several of his Adherents running from the Assembly to hasten his coming, told him he wou'd find the greatest Number of Votes united in his Favour. *Tiberius* followed them, and accompanied by his particular Friends, ascended the Capitol. The People, the Moment they perceived him, broke out into Shouts of Joy and Applause. But scarce was he placed in his Tribunal, when a Senator that was his Friend, breaking through the Crowd, and coming up to him, gave him Notice that there was a Conspiracy against his Life, and that the Grandees of *Rome*, especially those that were Personally concerned in the Affair of the Lands, were resolved to attack him openly in his very Tribunal.

The Friends of the Tribune moved at the Danger to which he was exposed, got together about him, tuck'd up their Gowns, and laying hold of the Arms of the Lictors, prepared to defend him, and to repel Force by Force. *Tiberius* endeavour'd to make the People acquainted with the Information he had received; but the Tumult, the Noise, and the Clamours of the different Parties, hindering him from being heard, he touched his Head with his Two Hands, in order to make the People conceive that his Life was in Danger. His Enemies hence took occasion to cry out, that he asked a Crown, and some of the hottest ran to tell the Senate, that the People were just going to crown *Tiberius*, if they did not speedily oppose it.

This was an Artifice to make the Senate overlook all Forms, and proscribe him immediately. Most of the Senators, whom the Execution of the *Lex Licinia* wou'd have stripp'd of part of their

Lands, run into the most bitter Speeches against *Tiberius*. But no body was more inveterate than his own Kinsman *Scipio Nasica*. That Senator addressing himself to the first Consul, represented to him, that all the Novelties which the Tribune had introduced into the Government, were but so many Steps to raise himself to the Throne; that there was not a Moment's Time to be lost, and that they must destroy the Tyrant, if they would preserve their Liberty. But that wise Magistrate, who would not make himself the Minister of the Revenge of particular Persons, replied, That he was equally incapable of approving the new Laws, and of putting the Author to Death, contrary to the usual Forms of Justice.

An Answer so full of Moderation, only enraged those exasperated Spirits the more. *Scipio* arose abruptly from his Place; and turning towards those Senators that were concerned like himself in the loss of the Lands: "Since the chief Magistrate, says he, out of so scrupulous a Subjection to the usual Forms of Justice, refuses to succour the Republick, let those who value Liberty above Life, follow me. At the same Time he gathers up his Robe, and puts himself at the Head of the Senators of his Party, who run hot with Fury to the Capitol, with that Multitude of Clients, Servants and Slaves, that attended them at the Door of the Senate. Those People, armed only with Clubs and Levers, went before the Senators, and fall indifferently upon all that stand in their Way.

The People terrified, take to Flight. In this Tumult every Man disperses different Ways. *Tiberius's* Friends abandon him. He is at length obliged to provide for his own Safety, as well as the rest; he flings off his Robe, that he may run with the more Freedom; but in that Hurry of Spirits, which is inseparable from Fear, he tumbles

bles down in his Flight ; and as he got up again, *Publius Satureius*, one of his Colleagues, secretly jealous of his Glory, gave him a Blow on the Head with the Foot of a Chair. He falls again with this Blow, and a Crowd of his Enemies rushing forward upon him, finished the Work. His Death did not put an end to the Disorder : The Fury was equal in all Parts of the City, and above Three Hundred of *Tiberius's* Friends and Adherents lost their Lives in this Tumult. It is observable, that not one was killed by the Sword, but all were bruised to Death with Stones or Clubs. Their Bodies were afterwards flung into the *Tyber* with that of *Tiberius*.

The Faction of the Great extended their Resentment to all that had been known to favour his Sentiments. Several of them were put to Death. *Popilius*, then Prætor, banished great Numbers. And no Methods were forgot to strike a Terror into those that shou'd ever have any Thoughts of attempting the like Regulation for the future.

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*The End of the Eighth Book.*

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## B O O K IX.

C. Gracchus, the Brother of Tiberius, obtains of the People the Office of Tribune, notwithstanding the Opposition of the Great. He proposes several Laws, and makes various Alterations in the Government, which render him almost absolute in Rome, and all over Italy. The Year of his Tribuneship being expired, he is continued in the same Post, without making the least Interest for it. In what manner the Senators contrived to diminish his Credit. Scipio Æmilius, the Destroyer of Carthage and Numantia, is the most open Opposer of the Agrarian Law. He is found dead in his Bed. Caius is suspected of having a Hand in his Assassination. His Colleagues, jealous of his Authority, find Means to exclude him from a Third Tribunate. The Senators, when they find Caius returned to a private Condition, give the Consul Opimius a Charge to annul all his Laws, and especially that relating to the Partition of the Lands. Opimius convenes a general Assembly to determine this great Affair. One of the Consul's Lictors being slain by the Plebeians, without the Consent of Caius, the Senate impowers Opimius to put his Adherents into Arms. Caius is killed, and his Head brought to the Consul, who pays Seventeen Pound and a half of Gold for the Murder. The Grandees at length obtain an Acknowledgment, that they are the lawful Possessors of the conquered Lands, by engaging themselves to pay a certain Rent, which they continue not long to do. Jugurtha. Who he was. His first Campaigns. His Money for some Time

*Time serves him instead of Justice at Rome. But at length his Cruelty obliges the Romans to send Troops into Numidia. After having successfully employed against these formidable Enemies, Bribery, Stratagem, and Force, he is delivered up by Bocchus, carried to Rome, dragged like a Slave at the Wheels of a Triumphal Chariot, and at last thrown by an Executioner into a Dungeon, where he is starved to Death. Marius. Sylla.*

**R**OME now first knew what it was to have a Civil War raging within the very Circumference of her Walls. All the Seditions, which till now had risen about the Retreat to the *Mons Sacer*, the Abrogation of the Debts, the Establishment of the Tribuneship, the Promulgation of various Laws, all these Dissentions constantly terminated by way of Accommodation, and without the Effusion of Human Blood, sometimes by the People's Respect for the Senate, and oftner yet by the Senate's Condescension to the People. But upon this last Occasion, the Quarrel was decided by Violence, and it was a Tribune of the People himself, that without respect to his own Dignity, though reputed Sacred, gave the first Blow to his Colleague.

Plut. in Gracchis.  
App. Alex.  
Civ. L. I.  
Vel. Pat.  
terc. Orof.  
L. Florus.

In the mean Time, the People being recovered from their Fear, reproached themselves with his Death, as much as if they had with their own Hands assassinated the Man whom they did not defend with sufficient Courage. Their Indignation then fell upon *Scipio Nasica*, the Beginner of the Tumult. The *Plebeians* never met him in the Streets, but they publicly upbraided him with Murder and Sacrilege. Some boiling with Rage threatened to kill him; others proposed to summon him before the Assembly of the People. The Senate fearing lest his Presence might raise a new Sedition, thought proper to remove him, and there-

therefore sent him into *Aſia*, with a ſeeming Commiſſion to diſguiſe a real Banishment. The Senate, to appeaſe the People effectually, conſented alſo to the Execution of the Law; they ſuffered another Commiſſioner to be choſe in the Place of *Tiberius*, for the Partition of the Lands; nay, and granted that Employment to *Publius Craſſus*, whoſe Daughter was Married to *C. Gracchus*, *Tiberius's* Brother. But all this was only to amuſe the People. *Tiberius's* Laws were, ſtill as odious as ever to the Great. The Death of *Appius Claudius*, one of the Triumvirs, gave them a new Pretence for ſuſpending the Execution of them; and the Division of the Lands began to be looked upon to be one of thoſe Affairs which it is intended to bring to nothing, by letting them fall into Oblivion.

*Caius Gracchus* was the only Man from whom the People cou'd look for Aſſiſtance. But beſides, that he was too young to enter into Publick Buſineſs, being but One and Twenty Years Old when his Brother was killed; it was obſerved, that ſince his Death he always ſeemed unwilling to ſhow himſelf Abroad, either fearing in Reality the Enemies of his Houſe, or deſigning by this affected Terror to make them more odious to the People. For it was not long before it appeared, that he had thus voluntarily baniſhed himſelf from the Converſation of the World, only to fit himſelf to ſhine in it more conſpicuouſly, and to revenge the Death of his Brother.

There were, as we have ſeen, but Two Ways that led equally to all the Dignities of the Republick, Eloquence and remarkable Valour. *Caius* had already diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the War of *Numantia*, under the young *Scipio*, his General, and Brother-in-Law. The Death of *Tiberius*, and the ill Succeſs of his Party, having obliged him to diſappear, he ſpent the whole Time of his Retreat in the Study of Eloquence, a Talent ſo abſo-

absolutely necessary in a Republican Government. He buried himself in his Closet ; his Door was shut against the young *Romans* of his own Age, and the Friends of his Family. He was quickly forgot, and the Brother of *Tiberius*, and the Grandson of the great *Scipio* was unknown in *Rome*. The Grandees beheld this Retreat with abundance of Pleasure, as an Effect of the Consternation, which the Death of his Brother had struck into him, and as a silent Declaration that he durst not meddle in the Government.

But they soon found that he had withdrawn himself from Business, only to make himself more capable of it. He came out of his Retreat to defend one of his Brother's Friends, named *Vestius* ; whom the opposite Party endeavoured to destroy upon an Accusation of several Crimes. *Caius* undertook his Defence : He for the first Time ascended the *Rostrum*. The People cou'd not see him in that Place, without the loudest Acclamations, and the most extraordinary Transports of Joy. They imagined they saw revived in his Person a Second *Tiberius*, and a new Protector of the *Agrarian Laws*. This Benevolence, which they showed him in so remarkable a Manner, inspired him with a Confidence and Boldness very rarely known in those who speak in Publick for the first Time ; and he pleaded for his Client with so much Eloquence and Strength, that he was acquitted by the unanimous Voices of the whole Assembly.

Having by this first Action made a Tryal of his own Capacity, and of the Disposition of the Peoples Minds, he thought that before he launch'd wholly into Publick Affairs, it wou'd be of Service to him, to have that Reputation which is obtained by Valour, and the Exercise of Arms. He asked and obtained the Office of Quæstor to the Army which was then in *Sardinia*, under the Command of the Consul *Orestes* : This was the first <sup>*Tear of Rome,*</sup> <sup>627.</sup> Employ-

Employment with which it was necessary to begin to attain the Dignities of the Republick. *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Caius*, relates, that no Man in the Army shewed more Valour against the Enemy, and more regard to the Military Discipline. People above all admired in an Age so little advanced, his Temperance, and the Austerity of his Manners. These did not make him the less civil or complaisant. The Officer, and private Soldier, that had to do with him upon account of his Post, were equally charmed with his Affability, his Diligence, and especially with his Probity and Disinterestedness. The constant Practice of so many Virtues, was not confined to the *Roman* Camp. *Caius* used the same Humanity towards all the Subjects of the Republick, that had Dependence upon his Office. The Citizen and Countryman, as well as the Soldier, thought themselves equally happy in a Man of his Integrity. His Reputation quickly passed the Seas; and *Micipsa* King of *Numidia*, and Son of *Massinissa*, having sent a Present of Corn for the Army in *Sardinia*, the Ambassadors, which that Prince then had at *Rome*, declared in full Senate, that the King, their Master, performed this Act of Generosity only out of respect to *Caius Gracchus*, whose Virtue he revered. This Declaration awakened the Jealousy and Hatred of the Great. Virtues too bright, were odious and dangerous to them. And to lessen in some Degree the Quæstor's Glory, and render him contemptible, they drove those Ambassadors with Shame out of the Senate, as *Barbarians*, who by this Preference had been wanting of Respect to their Body.

A Treatment so unworthy, and which seemed to violate the Law of Nations, was soon heard of in *Sardinia*. *Caius* cou'd not help feeling a quick Resentment of this Mark of the implacable Hatred of the Great. He then thought his Return to *Rome* neces-

necessary for the Support of his Credit, and to repel an Insult made so directly upon himself, and visibly with Design to render him contemptible to the People, and among the Nations Abroad. He set out abruptly, and appeared in the *Forum*, when he was thought to be in *Sardinia*. The Enemies of his Family, who watched all his Steps, urged it as a Crime against him, that he was returned before his General. He was cited before the Censors, where he quickly overthrew this Accusation.

He made appear that he had stayed Three Years with his General, though a Quæstor was allowed to return to *Rome* at the end of a Year, and that thus he had served Two more than was prescribed by the Laws. He added, that he was come back from *Sardinia* without Wealth; whereas, all that had preceeded him in the same Employment, had enriched themselves in it, and had brought home not only their Purses filled with Gold and Silver, but had likewise stowed it into the Pots and Vessels, which when they went over into that Island, had served them for the Carriage of Wine. We may easily imagine, that with such Reasons he was readily acquitted. His Enemies, who sought nothing but to keep him from the Dignities, to which the Favour of the People, in all Probability, wou'd speedily raise him, charged him with a new Accusation. They endeavoured to throw upon him the Suspicion of a Tumult that had happened at *Fregilla*, a City dependant upon the Republick, which the Prætor *Opimius*, a severe cruel Man, had allayed by the entire Ruin of that City, and the Death of the principal Inhabitants. That Senator, a declared Enemy to the Memory of *Tiberius*, in the Account which he gave in full Senate of his own Conduct in that Affair, forgot nothing which might insinuate a Belief that *Caius* was the secret Mover of that Sedition. He added, that he

he had discovered a private Correspondence between him and the chief Men of the City; that it was not probable they should form such a Project as withdrawing themselves from their Subjection to the Senate, had they not received private Assurances of the Protection of the People; and that if their Disobedience had met with Success, it had perhaps been nothing but a Signal to a general Revolt against the Sovereignty of the Republick. But all that this passionate Senator advanced against *Caius* being without Proofs, his ill Designs had no Effect; and the young *Gracchus* thought he had no better way to revenge himself on his Enemies, than by boldly demanding the Office of Tribune of the People. This was attacking the Senate in their most tender Part. At the bare Name of *Gracchus*, the Grandees, and especially those of them whose Estates were in Danger by the Revival of the *Agrarian* Laws, burnt with Fury. They made a strong Conspiracy to keep him out of the Tribuneship. But the whole People declared in his Favour, and so great a Number of *Plebeians* flocked even out of the Country to give him their Voices, that the *Forum* not being able to contain such a vast Multitude, many got up to the Tops of Houses, from whence with loud Cries and Acclamations, mixed with Praises, they demanded *Caius* for their Tribune; and as in this Election, the Voices were reckoned by Tale, the People more numerous than the Nobility, carried it by a vast Majority, and obtained *Caius* for one of their Tribunes. He no sooner saw himself invested with a Dignity, which gave him a Power almost without Bounds; but he built upon his Brother's Plan, Designs yet more daring, and carried them on even with more Warmth than he had done. The same Spirit, and the same Views, appeared in both the Brothers, though under different Characters. *Tiberius*, as we said before, concealed

cealed an unmoveable Firmness under a seeming Moderation. His Eloquence was soft and insinuating; he endeavoured to please, in order to persuade; he sought to move the Hearts of his Auditors, and when he stripped *Octavius* of the Tribuneship, it seemed as if he was as much touched with the Disgrace as himself, and that nothing but the Love of Justice, and the Interest of the People, could have induced him to undertake so melancholly an Office, as that of making his Colleague unhappy.

*Caius* showed himself more undisguised: Full as eloquent, but sharper in his Expressions, and more vehement than his Brother. His Speech was adorned with all the pathetick Figures; he even mingled Invectives with his Proofs and Arguments; his Zeal for the Interest of the People, became Rage against the Senate. Nothing but Thunder and Lightning, if we may use so bold an Expression, issued out of his Mouth, and he struck Terror into the very Souls of his Hearers. For the rest, the Firmness of these Two Brothers, their Love of Justice, their Integrity, their Temperance, their Contempt of Pleasure, and their inviolable Adherence to the Interests of the People, were Qualities which they possessed in an equal Degree.

It was only observed, that *Caius* had showed more Inclination to Revenge; a Fault to which those Pagans had given the Name of a Virtue, and which they looked upon to be a Greatness of Soul. As his Office engaged him to speak frequently to the People, whatever Subject he was upon, he always introduced the inhuman Manner in which the Senate had murdered his Brother. "What did it avail *Tiberius*, said he, to have been born a *Roman*, and in the Bosom of a Republick, whose Laws all forbid the putting to Death any Citizen before he is convicted of the Crimes



“ Crimes laid to his Charge? The Senate, the  
 “ *Patricians*, the Great, and the Rich, have affec-  
 “ finated with Clubs, not a private Citizen, but a  
 “ Tribune of the People, a publick Magistrate,  
 “ and a sacred Person. Their Fury did not stop  
 “ at depriving him of Life; even after Death,  
 “ they continued to execute their Rage upon his  
 “ Corpse; they dragged him basely through the  
 “ Streets, and carried their Inhumanity to such a  
 “ Height, as to throw him into the *Tyber*, in or-  
 “ der to deprive him of the Honours of Burial.  
 By such Discourses, equally warm and moving,  
 he raised the Compassion of the People, at the  
 same Time that he stirred up their Hatred and In-  
 dignation against the Senate and the Great. Af-  
 ter having sow’d in the Minds of Men these Seeds  
 of Resentment and Division, he began to prose-  
 cute his Revenge by the Proposal of Two new  
 Edicts. The first declared that Magistrate to be  
 infamous, who shou’d be deposed by the Judgment  
 of the People. This Law plainly regarded *Ota-  
 vius*, the Tribune, whom *Tiberius* had removed.  
 But *Plutarch* informs us, that *Caius*, at the Request  
 of his Mother *Cornelia*, to whom *Othavius* was some-  
 what allied, did not insist upon the Promulgation  
 of this Edict.

Cic. in  
 Cluentia-  
 nâ, Rabi-  
 rianâ, de-  
 perduelli-  
 one, item  
 pro domo  
 sua.

By the Second Law which he went through  
 with, it was ordained, that any Magistrate that  
 shou’d have banished a *Roman* Citizen, without  
 observing the Formalities prescribed by the Laws,  
 shou’d be accountable to the Assembly of the Peo-  
 ple. This Second Edict was proposed, only to de-  
 stroy *Popilius*, who during his Prætorship, had ba-  
 nished the Friends and Adherents of *Tiberius*. *Popi-  
 lius* did not stay for his Trial; but knowing that  
*Caius* disposed, as he pleased, of the Suffrages of  
 the Multitude, and that so his Opponent and En-  
 emy wou’d be his Judge, he voluntarily banished  
 him.

himself from his Country to avoid a Punishment more severe.

*Caius* finding, by this Tryal of his Credit, that it was in his Power to do any Thing, formed Designs of greater Consequence, the chief Aim of which was to convey the whole Authority of the Government from the Senate into the Assembly of the People. It was upon this Scheme that he made a new Edict, to give the Title and Privilege of *Roman* Citizens, to all the Inhabitants of *Latium*; and he afterwards made the same Law extend quite to the *Alps*. He at the same Time propos'd, that the Colonies which should be peopled by *Latins*, shou'd have the same Privileges as the Colonies of *Romans*; and that those who had not the Right of Suffrage in the Election of Magistrates, might however give their Votes when any new Law was under Consideration. By these Proposals he increased the Number of the Peoples Voices; and these new Citizens, who owed that great Privilege to him, were entirely at his Devotion, and followed his Orders as his Clients and Creatures.

*Caius*, to make himself more and more agreeable to the Multitude, fixed the Price of Grain at a very moderate Rate for their Relief. Some Historians even say, that during his Tribuneship, he caused a free Distribution of Corn to be made out of the Publick Granaries. The People who are always governed by those that find Means to procure them Plenty, were never weary of praising a Magistrate, whose Thoughts seemed wholly employed for their Subsistence. But these Actions appeared dangerous to the Senate, who looked upon all these Innovations to be nothing but so many indirect Methods to undermine their Authority; and what filled up the Measure of their Hatred against the Tribune, was the Change he introduced in the Tribunals where Justice was dispensed to private Persons.

These Tribunals had hitherto been filled by Persons chosen out of the Body of the Senate, and this great Privilege kept the Knights and People in that Respect, which they always have for the Arbiters of their Estates and Fortunes. *Caius*, after the Example of his Brother *Tiberius*, resolved to strip the Senate of this Part of its Authority: And to effect his Purpose, he made it appear, that *Aurelius Cotta*, and *Manlius Aquilius*, the chief of the Senate, who had been convicted of several Extortions, by most clear and undeniable Proofs, had yet escaped the Rigor of the Laws, through the Corruption of their Judges. From whence he afterwards took Occasion to represent to the People, that they must never expect to obtain Justice in Tribunals, where the Criminals themselves, or at least their Relations and Accomplices, sat as Judges; and concluded, with demanding that the Administration of Justice in private Suits, should be transferred to the Knights; or at least, that Three Hundred of the most considerable should be chosen out of that Order, to be assistant to the Senate with Equality of Voices, and Power in determining all Affairs.

The People received this Proposal with the Applauses which they gave to every Thing that came from the Tribune: And the Senate, confounded at the shameful Collusion of the Judges in the Affair of *Cotta* and *Aquilius*, knew not how to oppose this Law. It passed unanimously; and the People, whose Number made them more powerful than the Senate, and who idolized *Caius*, referred to him alone the Choice of those Three Hundred Knights that were to be admitted into the Magistracies of the City: He named none but his own Friends and Creatures. By these several Changes which he introduced into the Government, he made himself equally absolute in *Rome*, and all *Italy*. Yet it must be confessed, that he employed this Authority,

thority, so odious to the Senate, and so justly suspicious in a Commonwealth, only for the Glory of his Country, and the Service of his Fellow-Citizens. Nay, he sometimes hindred other Magistrates from carrying their Regard to the People too far; and *Fabius*, the Pro-Prætor of *Spain*, having extorted from the Cities under his Government, Corn which they were not bound to furnish, and then sent it to *Rome*, to make his Court to the meaner Sort of People; *Caius*, who cou'd not bear either Injustice or Violence in the Government, got the People themselves to adjudge that Corn to be sold, and the Produce to be returned to the Cities and Communities which had been wronged of it. The same Decree added, that the Pro-Prætor should undergo a severe Reproof, for having by such Oppressions exposed the Republick to the Complaints of her Subjects and Allies.

This Decree, which was owing solely to him, gave his Friends an Opportunity of extolling his Love for Justice. But his Enemies, on the contrary, gave out, that they could see nothing in this Behaviour, but what was an Effect of his Jealousy, and that he was too artful to allow any other Magistrate, besides himself, to win upon the Affections of the People, and to share their Favour and Gratitude with himself.

*Caius*, without giving any heed to these Calumnies, sought only to maintain the Alterations he had introduced by new Regulations, which he had still the Art to cloath with the Appearance of the Publick Good. He proposed the building Publick Granaries, there to keep a sufficient Quantity of Grain to prevent Scarcity in barren Years. *Cicero*. The Proposal being agreed to, he took the Execution of it upon himself, as he generally did of all the Designs which he offered. He himself pushed on the Work, and took Care to have it done with a Magnificence worthy of the *Romans*. Every Thing

Thing passed as it were through his own Hands; he would know every Thing himself. And under Pretence of watching to see that nothing was done contrary to the Interest of the People, he assumed to himself the whole Authority of the Government. He was eternally crowded with Ambassadors, Magistrates, Soldiers, Men of Letters, Artificers, Workmen, without ever being in the least perplexed by the Number or Diversity of his Affairs. Every Body admired his Activity; and his Enemies themselves cou'd not disown the Greatness and Clearness of his Capacity.

But these very Talents, and above all the Use he made of them in Favour of the People, were what rendered him more and more odious to the Senate and Grandees of Rome, and they impatiently longed for the end of his Tribuneship and Authority. The *Comitia* at length came; the Assembly was held for the Election of Tribunes for the following Year. *Caius* did not make the least Interest to be chosen; but the People who hoped to obtain new Privileges by his Means, named him Tribune a Second Time; and it was observed, that he was the first Citizen that ever attained to that Dignity, without canvassing for it.

*Fear of  
Rome,  
631.*

The Senate cou'd not, without the most violent Uneasiness, behold the Continuation of a Magistrate, who by little and little was stealing away all their Authority. Various Councils were held; the hotter Sort were immediately for taking him off, and using him as they had done his Brother. But the fear of raising a Sedition, made them take another Method, which may be looked upon to be one of the finest Strokes of Policy that was ever practised. They resolved, before they proceeded to Violence, or undertook his Destruction by open Force, that they would endeavour to diminish and weaken the Affections the People bore him: For this Purpose, the best Heads in the Senate applied them-

themselves to *Livius Drusus*, his Colleague. He was a Man whose Meaning was always honest; of a Capacity just, but not very great; one that without siding with either Party, would have been glad to have reconciled their contrary Interests, and to have united the Two Factions. But a Design of such Difficulty, wherein Mens private Regards swayed them more than the publick Good, was above his Ability or Credit. The Senators that addressed themselves to him, attacked him of his weak Side, and flattered his Vanity with the Glory of giving Peace to the Republick. *Drusus* joyfully offered his Assistance. " You are not de-  
" fired, said those crafty Senators, to declare  
" against the Interests of the People, who have  
" chosen you for one of their Magistrates; nor  
" even like *Octavius*, to oppose the Novelties  
" which *Caius* daily introduces. The Senate has  
" formed a nobler Design, and requires your As-  
" sistance, and the Intervention of the best Tribune  
" that the Commonwealth ever had, only to re-  
" store Peace and Union among the several Orders  
" of the State. Propose, if you think fit, Laws  
" still more advantageous to the People, if such  
" can be, than those of *Caius*; the Senate will ap-  
" prove every Thing; the only Favour they ex-  
" pect of you, is to declare publickly, that the  
" Laws and Edicts which you offer were suggested  
" to you by the Senate; and to add, that they  
" have no View but the Good and Prosperity of  
" their Fellow Citizens.

This dextrous Turn had all the Success that they could wish. *Drusus*, who saw nothing in this Design, contrary either to his own Interest, or to that of the People, came into all the Measures that they put him upon. If *Caius* proposed to send Two Colonies into Two Cities, dependant upon the Republick, *Drusus*, to gratify a greater Number of poor Families, was for repeopling

Twelve, and for sending into each of those Cities Three Thousand of the poorer Citizens. *Caius* having adjudged some uncultivated Lands to *Plebeians*, and having charged those Lands with certain Rents and Services, *Drusus*, refining as it were upon his Art of flattering the People, gave to some poor Families the same Quantity of the like Lands, free and clear of all Deductions. Lastly, *Caius* having, as we have said before, procured to the *Latins* the Right of Suffrage in Elections, *Drusus*, by a new Decree, ordained, that those People being now made Citizens of the Republick, it shou'd be no longer lawful for a *Roman* Captain to cause a Soldier of that Nation to be beaten with Rods. *Drusus*, upon every Proposal, never failed to declare, as he was engaged to do, that he was only the Mouth of the Senate, who had charged him to make his Report thereof to the Assembly. This Conduct softened the Minds of the People; the Senate was not so much hated as formerly; the Two Parties seemed to be drawing to an Union; *Drusus* pleased the Multitude by the Merit of Novelty, and shared the Power of *Caius*. This was the Intention of the Senate. *Caius* cou'd not, without a secret Concern, perceive that this Rival was getting from him part of the Favour of the People. He called him the Slave of the Senate; this Jealousy of his displeased the best among the *Plebeians*; and his Behaviour in Relation to *Scipio Æmilius*, his Brother-in-Law, made them doubt, whether his Virtue was so pure as it had hitherto been thought.

We have already said; that his Mother *Cornelia* was Daughter to *Scipio Africanus*, or the First *Scipio*; and that the Second *Scipio*, the Son of *Paulus Æmilius*, but adopted into that *Patrician* Family, had Married *Sempronia*, the Sister of the Two *Gracchi*. But notwithstanding this double Alliance, the Difference and Emulation of the  
Two

Two Parties, and the Animosity between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, upon Account of the Division of the Lands, had always prevented a true Union between those Two Families. The *Scipio's*, upon more than one Occasion, had declared themselves the Enemies of the *Sempronian* Family; the *Gracchi* even complained, that the young *Scipio* did not give his Wife *Sempronia* good Usage, upon Pretence of her Sterility; and in general, all the *Scipio's* that had opposed *Tiberius's* Law, were suspected of having had a Hand in the Death of that Tribune.

This perpetual Quarrel in the Republick, which, as we have seen, revived from Age to Age, and passed from Father to Son, broke out with more Animosity than ever, after the Death of the elder *Gracchus Caius*. He always kept close to the Plans and Designs of his Brother; and not satisfied with having taken from the Senate its Tribunals and Authority, he undertook to strip the chief Families of *Rome* of those conquered Lands, which it is true they had most of them usurped, but which they justified by a Possession almost as ancient as the Foundation and Establishment of the Commonwealth it self.

*Caius* thought he owed this great Sacrifice to the *Manes* of his Brother, and that it concerned his Honour to push the Execution of Laws, which to obtain had cost him his Life.

He associated in his Design *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Consular Person, but a Man of no Probity, and base Manners, and whose Friendship and Correspondence did Prejudice to his Reputation. And *Papirius Carbo*, Tribune of the People, a bold seditious Man, offered his Assistance, in hopes to make himself considerable by his publick Adherence to the Party of *Caius*. That Tribune got them named with himself for *Triumvirs* in the Partition of the Lands. The Commission cou'd



not be given to Persons of a more active enterprising Temper; all Three declared Enemies to the Senate, and extravagant Flatterers of the very basest of the People.

These *Triumvirs*, no sooner saw themselves authorized by a publick Decree, but they cited by sound of Trumpet, all the Detainers of those Lands, to bring their Titles to their Tribunal, with an exact Account of what they possessed, to enable them to judge those who came into the Case of the *Lex Licinia*, and that enjoyed above Five Hundred Acres. There was hardly any of the Great but what possessed a larger Quantity; nay, and most of them were engaged in Law-Suits about the Bounds of their Usurpations. These Men being grown more powerful than is convenient in a Commonwealth, Armed publickly, and put Soldiers upon their Lands to defend their Possession; and those who were not quite so audacious, implored the Protection of the young *Scipio*, the greatest Man of his Time. But, as much as he was respected by his Countrymen, he durst not venture to set himself against the People, or attack directly the Laws of the *Gracchi*, his Brothers-in-Law. He took a more artful way to elude the Execution of them. He represented with a great deal of Cunning in an Assembly, that the *Triumvirs* had been named, only to examine, Whether there were any Citizens, that contrary to the Laws possessed above Five Hundred Acres of Land; to distribute what exceeded that Quantity among poor Citizens; and that their Commission and Power were confined to those Two Articles. He added, that before they proceeded to this Inquisition, it was necessary to know the fixed and certain Bounds of every Man's Inheritance. But that the Proprietors, having various Pretensions upon the Bounds of each other, the Cognizance and Judgment of those Pretensions, exceeded the  
Power

Power of the *Triumvirs*, and required other Judges, or at least a more extensive Commission.

The Proposal passed by Plurality of Voices. *Scipio* had the Address and Interest to get this Part of the Commission out of the Hands of the *Triumvirs*, and to procure it for *Turdianus*, who was then Consul, and who under a seeming Indifference for either Party, concealed an entire Devotion to the Senate, and the Interests of the Great. That Magistrate, to impose upon the People, laboured for some Time with a great deal of Application, in examining every Man's Pretensions, and regulating the mutual Bounds of their Inheritances. The *Triumvirs* with Pleasure saw him proceed in his Work, hoping he wou'd soon enable them to execute their Commission; but some Time afterwards he quitted *Rome* abruptly, upon Advice which he caused to be brought, that his Presence was necessary in *Illyrium*, where the *Romans* were then making War. His Absence left all those Law-Suits undecided, and consequently suspended the Function of the *Triumvirs*, who could never forgive *Scipio* his having overthrown their Designs, and vacated their Commission. They reproached him in the Assemblies, that though he owed his whole Glory to the *Roman* People, and had received Two Consulates successively, contrary to all Laws, by their Means, when the Senate and Grandees opposed him; yet now in favour of those imperious Men, he was not ashamed to stand up against the Establishment of the *Aggravian* Laws, so necessary for the Subsistence of the Poor People, and sealed with the Blood of *Tiberius*.

And hereupon *Carbo*, that audacious Tribune, mentioned above, called upon him in a full Assembly to declare what he thought of the manner in which *Tiberius* had been slain; meaning by this ensnaring Question to bring him under a Necessity of

App.  
Alex. de  
Bell. Civ.  
L. 1.

of returning such an Answer, as must make him odious either to the People, or the Senate.

But *Scipio*, without being at all at a Loss, boldly replied, That if *Tiberius* had indeed a Design to make himself the Tyrant of his Country, he thought his Death but just. The whole Body of the People, who adored his Memory, showing their Indignation by great Outcries: *To what Purpose is all this Noise*, says *Scipio*, with that Air of Greatness which was so natural to him? *Do you think your Clamours will terrify a General, whom the Noise of so many Armies of Enemies could never daunt?* *Caius* did not at all concern himself in this Dispute: He kept a sullen Silence. But *Fulvius Flaccus*, a Man of a hot violent Temper, gave *Scipio* a great many Threats; and next Morning that illustrious Roman was found dead in his Bed, with Marks about his Neck, of the Violence which had been used upon him.

No body knew whom to charge with so great a Crime. The first Suspicions fell upon *Flaccus*, who the Day before had threatned him with the Resentment of the People. Others imagined, that so daring an Act must proceed from some nearer Hand. They laid it to *Cornelia*, the Mother of the *Gracchi*; and reported, that her Daughter *Sempronia* her self, the Wife of *Scipio*, to get rid of the Enemy of her Family, and of a Husband that despised her, had in the Night conveyed the Murderers into his Chamber.

The People, for fear *Caius* might be found an Accomplice in the Crime, would not suffer any Search to be made into it. He himself stirred not in the least to discover the Criminals; and that Magistrate, so remarkable for his Severity, he that affected the Title of Defender of the Laws, and the avowed Foe to any that made the least Attempt upon the Publick Liberty, did now, in the Assassination of so great a Man, preserve a scandalous

dalous Silence, which justly made it be suspected, that either he or his Friends did not think themselves sufficiently innocent to endure too strict an Enquiry.

This Silence in *Caius*, which was yet more criminal than the Murder it self, occasioned the Publick Complaints of all the Nobility; and made the best Men even among the People entertain violent Suspicions against his Virrue. To remove the Memory of so black a Crime, and employ Mens Thoughts, *Caius* made use of his Colleague *Q. Rubrius*, whom he put upon proposing new Designs. That Tribune advised the People to rebuild *Carthage*, which *Scipio* had destroyed, and to send a strong Colony thither. *Caius* backed this Proposal with all his Might, and omitted nothing in the Assemblies that could bring the People into this Enterprize: He cried up the Fertility of the Soil, the Neighbourhood of the Sea, the Safety and Conveniency of its Port. And as he imagined in the present State of Things, his Absence from *Rome*, and that of *Fulvius Flaccus*, would not be unserviceable in destroying those Reports, so injurious to his Glory, he solicited and obtain'd the Conduct of this Expedition, which was intrusted to him by a Publick Decree, conjointly with *Flaccus*. suspected, like himself, of *Scipio's* Death.

They carried over into *Africa* Six Thousand Roman Families, which they put into the Possession of *Carthage*, and its Territory. But while he was busied in restoring the Walls, or to speak more truly, in demolishing *Scipio's* Trophies, *Drusus*, who acted only by the Impression of the Senate's Counsels, took Advantage of his Absence, to make *Flaccus* more odious. He revived all the Circumstances that could make him suspected of *Scipio's* Murder. This was an indirect Attack upon *Caius* himself, who had such strict Ties with that Senator.

nator. *Drusus*, in all his Discourses, represented him as a Man of a violent and seditious Temper; and that sought his own Promotion in nothing but the Troubles of the State. He was even accused of having endeavoured to induce the Nations of *Italy* to a Revolt. There was a Talk of prosecuting him for these Crimes. The Credit and Esteem of *Caius*, his Protector, decreased in his Absence: The People began to forget him, and placed their whole Confidence in *Drusus*, whose Reputation was clear, and his Conduct moderate. *Caius*, judging of the Diminution of his Credit, by the Danger of his Friend, hastened to *Rome*, to revive his Faction. Upon his Arrival, he left his House, which was on *Mount Palatine*, and chose a Lodging near the Market, in a Part of the City inhabited by an infinite Number of the poorest People. He then proposed new Laws, which all tended to the weakening of the Senate's Authority. He was to get them received in the next Assembly; but as he was doubtful of the Success, and his Party seemed neither so numerous, nor so full of Warmth as he used to find them, he sent for to *Rome* great Numbers of those People of *Italy*, for whom he had procured the Right of Suffrage.

The Senate, very much disturbed at this Crowd of Strangers, which filled the City, and who seemed to come thither to dispose of the Government as they pleased, made use of the Authority of the Consul *Fannius*, to order all that were not Inhabitants of *Rome*, to depart the City forthwith. *Caius*, that the People might not perceive the Diminution of his Credit, though since his Return from *Africa*, he found himself much less regarded, published a Decree directly to the contrary Effect: He encouraged those Strangers to remain in the City, and promised them the Assistance of the Laws, and the Protection of the People, against the Consul's Order.

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Nevertheless, he afterwards saw *Fannius's* Lictors drag to Prison one of those Strangers, his Friend, and his Guest, whom they seized on Purpose to affront him. He looked upon his Disgrace, and the ill Treatment they gave him, without opposing it; either that he feared to raise a Civil War, or that finding his Power decay'd, since the Murder of *Scipio*, he was unwilling to let the Weakness of his Party become Publick. And he had the Mortification to see himself abandoned by the very Heads of it, upon Occasion of a Dispute which he had with the other *Tribunes*, his Colleagues, who, before this Difference, were always very firm in his Interests.

The Grandees of *Rome* had caused Scaffolds to be built in the *Forum*, for their more convenient seeing the Publick Spectacles, and a Combat of Gladiators that was to be fought there; and the Workmen had built a great Number besides, upon their own Account, which they had let out to rich Families. *Caius* passing through the *Forum*, and seeing it clogged up with all those Scaffolds, ordered them to be taken down, that the People might have more Room, and see the Sports Free-coft. The Grandees had Recourse to the Authority of his Colleagues, who out of Complaisance to the chief Families in *Rome*, ordered that the Scaffolds should stand: Nay, 'tis not very certain whether those Magistrates of the People had not secretly a Share in the Profit of those Scaffolds that were let out. *Caius*, who could not bear any Opposition in what he thought just, took along with him that Multitude of Workmen that were at his Devotion; and the Night before the Games, he caused all those Scaffolds to be demolished, and the Materials to be carried away; so that the Place was free for next Day. The People admired his Resolution and Courage; but his Colleagues being vexed, that he should carry every Thing thus with

with a high Hand, and jealous of the Sway he had obtained in Rome, quite broke off from his Interests: They privately joined in with his Enemies to exclude him from the Tribuneship. And in the following *Comitia*, where *Caius* should have been elected Tribune for the Third Time, the People having given him the greater Number of Voices, those Tribunes, who by their Office were to count the Votes, to be revenged of him, were suspected to have suppressed Part of the Billets, and made a false Report of the Scrutiny; and by this Fraud *Caius* was shut out from the Tribuneship.

The Senate no sooner saw him brought back to a private Condition, but they resolved to abolish all his Laws, and gave the Care of it to the Consul *Opimius*, the Man that during his Praetorship, endeavoured to involve *Caius* in the Sedition of *Fregella*. This Consul, as we have already said, was a declared Enemy to the *Gracchi*; a Man of a haughty Temper, proud of his Birth and Dignity, despising the People, and who, without concerning himself about the Formalities of the Laws, seemed resolved to put an End to this great Difference, by the Death of *Caius*.

He began with abrogating the Decree that ordained the Restoration of *Carthage*, and convened a General Assembly to suppress all the other Laws; and that he might be strong enough to support his Party, he brought into the City a Body of *Cándiot* Troops, that were in the Pay of the Commonwealth.

These he used as a Guard: He went no where without being attended with these Foreign Soldiers, and surrounded by all those Grandees of Rome, whose Interest it was to suppress the Laws of the *Gracchi*. These were themselves constantly attended with a Crowd of Servants and Clients,

ents, whom Custom kept in their Train and Obedience.

The Consul, thus guarded, publicly insulted *Caius* where-ever he met him: He affronted him with opprobrious Language, to produce a Quarrel, and so to get an Occasion of falling upon him, and killing him. *Caius*, more moderate, or finding that he was not the stronger, over-look'd these Outrages. But *Flaccus*, less patient, and enraged at the Insolence of the Great, made it so plain to him, that he was losing the whole Glory of his Two Tribuneships, by a Moderation, which his Enemies looked upon to be nothing but Cowardice, that he at length resolved to oppose Force with Force.

He called about him the most zealous *Plebeians*, and at the same Time brought into the City a great Number of *Latins*, and other Inhabitants of *Italy*, disguised like Reapers, who came as Men wanting Work and Employment. All Rome was divided between these Two Parties. That of *Caius* seemed the stronger, because it was the more numerous, and that he govern'd the People as he pleased. But in the other was seen the Chief Magistrate, a Legal Authority, and even more Conduct, and Designs better concerted.

At length the Day being come, which was to decide whether the Laws of the *Gracchi* should subsist or be abolish'd, the Two Factions repaired very early in the Morning to the Capitol. The Consul, according to ancient Use, began with sacrificing to the Gods. It is said, that one of his Lictors, named *Quintus Attilius*, having taken upon him to represent to *Caius* the Misfortunes he must occasion to his Country, if he still continued obstinate in maintaining the Laws which he had contriv'd, and that *Caius* having shown by a Gesture of Displeasure and Contempt, that he did not care to be documented by so mean an Officer, the



the Lictor was killed upon the Spot by some *Plebeians*. Other Historians relate this Fact after a different Manner. They tell us, that this Lictor was the Cause of his own Death, by his Insolence; and that as he was carrying the Entrails of the Victim which the Consul had sacrific'd, he cried out aloud to *Flaccus*, and those of his Party, *Make way there, evil Citizens as you are*. They add, that to these injurious Words, he joined an Action of the Hand dishonest and contemptuous; and that these latter, to punish him for this Insult, stabbed him with the Pins of their Table-Books, and slew him upon the Spot.

The People seemed not to approve this hasty Action; and *Caius*, who foresaw the Consequences, was yet more concerned. He upbraided his Adherents, that they had now given their Enemies the Pretence, they had so long wanted for shedding of Blood.

Accordingly the Senate immediately assembled, and decreed, upon the Death of an ordinary Lictor, as upon the greatest Calamity of the Republick, *That the Consuls should take care the State suffered no Prejudice*. By this extraordinary Decree the Consuls received from the Senate the most extensive Authority. They had Power from this to raise as many Troops as they thought proper; to use any Means whatsoever for the quelling of rebellious Citizens; to declare War against the Enemy; in a word, they were invested with absolute Power, both in the City, and in the Army.

*Opimius*, by virtue of this Decree, commanded all the Senators and Knights to take Arms, and to appear next Day at the *Forum*, with each at least Two Slaves armed. *Flaccus*, on his Side, endeavoured to make People take Arms. But he met with nothing but a general Consternation in every Man's Mind, and an universal Dejection. *Caius*, as he went Home, stopped in the *Forum* at a Statue  
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of his Father which had been raised there; and looking at it mournfully, without uttering a Word, the Tears were seen to run down from his Eyes, as foreseeing with Grief, the Blood that must be spilt in his Quarrel the next Day. Those that accompanied him, moved with Compassion, urged to one another, that they should be the basest of Wretches to abandon so great a Man, who was in Danger only for their Sakes. Most of them spent the Night at his Door, rather to shew their Zeal and Affection, than in hopes of being of much Service to him. *L. Flacchus* employed that Time in gathering together their Friends, and the Chief of the People. He got a pretty considerable Number to take Arms, and Day no sooner appeared, but he took Possession of *Mount Aventine*.

*Caius*, at the same Time, made ready to follow him; but would not arm himself, not for want of Courage, but to avoid coming to Extremities with his Fellow-Citizens. He put on nothing but his ordinary Gown, and only took under it a short Sword to defend himself, if he were attacked. As he was just going out of his House, his Wife, all in Tears, ran to stop him. "Where goest thou, *Caius* ; (says she) embracing him tenderly? "What is thy Design? And why dost thou leave thy House so early? Can'st thou be ignorant that the Murderers who slew thy Brother, are preparing the same Fate for thee; and that thou hast no Defenders but a vile Rabble, who will basely leave thee at the Sight of the least Danger? Consider that *Rome* is no longer what she was: Virtue is banished from within her Walls; every Thing here is decided by Violence. And what Confidence can'st thou place in the Authority of the Laws, or even in the Justice of the Gods; those Gods, that either thro' Blindness or Impotence, could suffer *Tiberius* to perish?

*Cains*, pierced to the Heart with Grief, and not having Strength to answer her, tore himself from her Arms, and went to join *Flaccus*, who had put himself at the Head of their Party. Here he found nothing but a Multitude of People, without Order, and with more Fury than Strength. The Senate, on the contrary, and the whole Body of the Nobility, attended by their Clients and Domesticks, formed a very powerful Party. *Cains* perceiving he was in no Condition to withstand them, prevailed upon *Flaccus*, that a Deputy should be sent to the Consul, to desire Peace; and to conjure him to spare the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens. They gave this Commission to the youngest of *Flaccus's* Sons, who presented himself before the Consul with a *Caduceus* in his Hand, and proposed a Reconciliation between the Two Parties.

Many Senators of good Intentions, were for accepting of this Proposal; and for coming to a Conference with the Heads of the Party of the People. But *Opimius*, making an Estimate of his Weakness by his Submission, gave Answer to the Son of *Flaccus*, That there was no other Reconciliation to be hoped for, but that those who were in the Fault, should yield themselves to the Judgment of the Senate, and the Rigor of the Laws. At the same Time, he sent back the Child with a Prohibition, enforced with the most grievous Threats, never to appear again before him, unless his Father and his Adherents submitted to whatsoever the Senate should please to decree concerning them. Besides this, he set a Price upon *Cains's* Head, which was its Weight in Gold to any one that should bring it in; and to weaken and divide his Party, he proscribed by Sound of Trumpet all that sided with him, with Promise however of Pardon to those who should leave him immediately.

This Proscription had all the Effect which the Consul could hope from it. Most of the Common People that had followed *Flaccus* by the Encouragement of one another, grew afraid, slipped away one by one, and deserted their Leaders: They had scarce above Four or Five Thousand Men left with them. *Caius*, not thinking himself strong enough to withstand the adverse Party; and, perhaps, to prevent Effusion of Blood, was for going in Person to answer for his Conduct to the Senate. But his Adherents would not suffer him, fearing to be deprived of their Leader; and chose rather to send the young Son of *Plautus* once more to desire Peace.

*Optimus*, without so much as hearing him, caused him to be seized for returning contrary to his Prohibition. And without giving the People Time to think what to do, he marched against them, and charged them with his *Candidiots*, whose Arrows soon dispersed the Multitude. Then the Senators and Knights falling Sword in Hand upon the Rout, slew a great Number: It is said, that there fell Three Thousand of the People. *Flaccus*, in this Disorder, hid himself in the Ruins of an old House; where being found, he was slain with his eldest Son. *Caius* retired into the Temple of *Diana*, where he would have killed himself. But *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, Two of his Friends, prevented him, and forced him to endeavour to make his Escape. It is said, that before he left that Temple, he besought the Goddess, that the Roman People, who had so basely deserted their Protectors, might never be freed from their Slavery. He then betook himself to Flight, with his Two Faithful Friends, and a Slave, named *Philocrates*. His Enemies pursued him close; but coming to a Bridge, *Pomponius* and *Licinius*, to assist his Flight, stood their Ground Sword in Hand, and for some Time stopped the Pursuers, who could gain no

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Passage

Passage till they had killed the Two generous Romans.

*Caius* had Time to get into a little Wood, consecrated to the Furies; but finding it was impossible to escape his Enemies, who had surrounded the Grove, we are told, that he caused *Philocrates* to kill him; and that the faithful Slave afterwards slew himself upon his Master's Body. Others say, that *Caius* being overtaken by those that pursued him, *Philocrates*, embracing his Master, covered him with his Body; and that they could not get at him till they had slain the faithful Servant. They cut off *Caius's* Head, and the Murderers stuck it at the End of a Spear. A certain Man, named *Septimuleius*, a Creature of *Opimius*, stole it from those who carried it thus like a Trophy; and having privately taken out the Brain, filled it with melted Lead, to make it more heavy, and then delivered it to the Consul for Seventeen Pounds and a half of Gold.

The Body was thrown into the *Tyber*, with those of *Flaccus*, and above Three Thousand Citizens that fell in this Commotion. The Consul, whose implacable Hatred was not yet asswaged with all this Blood, threw into Prison all the Friends and Adherents of the *Gracchi* that he could discover, where they were put to Death. Their Goods were confiscated; their Widows were forbid to wear Mourning for them. *Licinia*, the Wife of *Caius*, was even deprived of her Dowry; and *Opimius*, whose Rage still pursued the miserable Remains of that Party, extended his Inhumanity even to the poor Child that had been sent to him with Words of Peace, and caused him to be put to Death in Prison.

This cruel Magistrate, after having shed so much Blood, was not ashamed to build a Temple to *Concord*; as if he had by pacifick Measures brought his Fellow-Citizens to a Union. The

People

App.  
Alex. de  
Bello Civ.  
l. 1.

People never saw this Temple without Horror, and looked upon it as a Monument of his Pride and Cruelty. But *Opimius*, without being at all concerned at this impotent Displeasure, thought of nothing but how to extinguish the very Memory of the Laws of the *Gracchi*. It was to this Purpose that a *Tribune* of the People, who, in all Probability, was bribed by him, and the other Grandees of *Rome*, represented in an Assembly, that he met with unfurmountable Difficulties in the Account and Partition of the Lands; but that to relieve the People, he would take Care that every Proprietor of such Lands should pay a certain Rent proportionable to the Quantity he possessed; and that the Money arising from these Rents, should be distributed among the poor Citizens, and those especially who enjoy'd no Share of those Publick Lands. He added, that in Consideration of this Payment, he was of Opinion, that those who possessed such Lands, should be acknowledged the lawful Proprietors of them, with a discharge from all Claims for the future; and that they should be allowed to sell and dispose of those Inheritances; but always subject to the Rent that should be agreed upon. Idem.  
App. ibid.

The People, seduced with the Hopes of this Advantage, and deceived by their *Tribune*, passed this Law, which absolutely destroy'd that of the *Gracchi*. The rich Citizen, no longer fearing any Inquisition, extended, without Scruple, the Bounds of his Domain. They strove now who should first purchase the Inheritance of a poor Neighbour. All the Lands came into the Possession of the Great; and the meaner sort of People relapsed into the Poverty which the Two *Gracchi* had strove to prevent.

In a short Time, the Rents which were to be paid for their Use, were no longer talked of. The Rich, and the Grandees of *Rome*, suppressed, as

it were by Agreement among themselves, this Mark of the Nature and Dependance of those Lands. Another *Tribune*, no less false to his Party than him we just now mention'd, excus'd the Observation of this Part of the Law, pretending that the Great paid a sufficient Tribute to the Republick, by the Services they did her in the Magistracies, with which they were invest'd. And it was by this Chain of Artifices joined to Force and Violence, that the more Powerful at length remained in Possession of these Publick Lands, which they had made their Prey, and usurped as their own particular Conquest.

We shall be the less surpriz'd at this; if we consider, that the *Plebeians* now no longer found Protection in the Animosity of the *Tribunes* against the *Patricians* and Nobles. Those Two Factions, who were always before kept asunder by the Distinction of their Birth, were now turned into Two Parties, merely of Rich and Poor, of whatever Order they were born; and the poor Citizens, abandoned by the rich *Plebeians*, who joined in with the Senate, also saw themselves basely betrayed by their own Magistrates, who were Accomplices in the Usurpation of those Lands, which the People claimed in vain. There never arose, after the unhappy End of the *Gracchi*, any *Tribune* so impartial or so generous as to dare publickly to undertake their Defence. Avarice, private Views, Desire of raising themselves by the particular Favour of the Great, had taken the Place of Zeal for the Publick Good. Pride and Luxury succeeded to that noble publick Spirit, and that Love of their Country, to which *Rome* owed her Greatness and Power.

In a Corruption almost general, the Affair of *Jugurtha* awaken'd the People out of the Dejection and Consternation into which the Loss of the *Gracchi* had thrown them. And they gladly laid hold

hold of this Opportunity of revenging themselves upon the Consul *Opimius*, and punishing the fordid Avarice of the chief Men in the Republick.

*Masniſſa*, the famous *African* Prince, illustrious for his Friendship with the first *Scipio*, and so noted for his inviolable Firmness to the Party of the *Romans*, had received from them the Kingdom of *Numidia*, in Return for the Services he had done them against the *Carthaginians*. At his Death he left his Kingdom, with the Protection of the *Romans*, to *Micipsa*, who succeeded him. This Prince had Two Sons, the eldest named *Adberbal*, and the younger *Hiempsal*. He had besides, a Nephew named *Jugurtha*, Son of his Brother *Manassabal*, who died before *Masniſſa*: But that old Prince had left him in an obscure Condition; and would never own him for his Grandson, because he was not born in lawful Marriage.

*Micipsa* seeing him well made, and of a promising Aspect, took him out of his Obscurity, and had him educated with the Princes his Sons, tho' he was older than them. *Jugurtha*, (says *Salust*) perfectly well answered the Intentions of the King his Uncle, and the Instructions of his Masters. None of the young Noblemen of his Age excell'd him either in drawing the Bow, managing the Horse, or disputing the Prize in the Race. If he went to Hunting, and met with a Lion, or any other Wild Beast, he immediately pressed to the Head of the Hunters, to give him the first Wound; and when after having slain him, he received Praises for his Boldness; either through Pride or Modesty, he contemned those kind of Victories, as very far beneath (said he) what ought to be expected from the Courage and Valour of a Prince.

The King of *Numidia*, at first, rejoiced in the good Success of his Care; and looked with Pleasure



ture upon this young *Jugurtha*, as the Ornament of his Court. But it was not long before there was perceived in that Prince an inordinate Ambition, guided by a Genius artful, insinuating, dextrous and deceitful. *Micipsa's* Joy was now turned into Fear, especially when he consider'd his own great Age, and the Youth of his Sons; and he saw, with Grief, that he had nourished in his House a secret Enemy, and, perhaps, the Destroyer of it. To ease himself of these Apprehensions, he resolv'd to send him to the War, in Hopes the Chance of Arms might remove him. He put him at the Head of a Body of Troops which he sent to *Scipio Æmilius*, who was then besieging *Numantia* in *Spain*.

*Year of  
Rome,  
620.*

But *Jugurtha* found Means to draw several Advantages from a Design that was laid only to destroy him. He began with winning and securing to his Interests, both the Soldier and Officer that was under his Command, by Favours, Presents, and above all, by surprizing Acts of Valour. The *Romans* themselves, such good Judges of this kind of Merit, agreed, that it was impossible for a young Prince to have more Courage, or indeed more Knowledge at those Years in the Art of War. This general Esteem gained him great Numbers of Friends, among whom he enter'd into very strict Engagements with such Officers as he thought had most Interest in the Senate, and at *Rome*. The cunning *African*, who foresaw of how much Use the Credit of those principal Officers might be to him in raising him to his Hopes, forgot no Methods to engage them in his Interests. He won them by repeated Presents; and those mercenary Souls, to procure themselves more, encouraged him in his Ambition. They insinuated to him, that without minding Seniority of Birth, he ought, after *Micipsa's* Death, to lay open Claim to his Crown; and that provided he wanted not Money, he would never want Friends,  
or

or powerful Protectors in the Senate, where most of the Suffrages were little better than Venal.

*Scipio*, informed of these Cabals, and angry at their corrupting the Mind of the young Prince by such pernicious Maxims, took him aside, and advised him in a friendly Manner, never to seek the Friendship of the *Romans* any otherwise than by honourable Means, and Actions worthy of his Courage and Birth. He added, to let him see he was not ignorant of his most private Intrigues, that it was always dangerous to go about to purchase of a few particular Persons, that which belonged to the Publick. That with so much Valour as he had shown, he could never want Crowns; but that if through a too greedy Thirst of Reigning, he employed unworthy Means to attain it, he foretold him, as his Friend, that he would lose the very Money which he spent in corrupting of Voices; and that at length he would lose himself. *Jugurtha*, whose flexible and artful Mind easily assumed all manner of Shapes, feigned to be touch'd with these Remonstrances. He promised *Scipio* to improve by them, and after the End of the Campaign, he took his Leave of that General, who wrote in his Favour to the King of *Numidia*, that he was very well pleased with his Services; and that none could have showed more Courage and Conduct than he had done in all the Occasions wherein he had fought.

*Jugurtha* being returned into *Numidia*, with the Addition of Lustre which he received from the Glory he had acquired in the Army, and from the Friendship of the *Romans*, begins to lay the Foundation of his Greatness. He makes new Friends; he buys himself Creatures; gains part of the Ministers; intimidates the rest; and at length finds Ways to have it insinuated to the old King, that he could not do a wiser Action, than to adopt him, in order to give his Two Sons, as it were, a Third  
Bro-

Brother, who would be a Guardian to them, and a Protector to the State. The weak old Man, whose Senses were enfeebled by his great Age, adopts him publickly. He flattered himself, that by so great a Favour, he had made sure of him whom he could not destroy. But he was no sooner expired, than *Jugurtha* made it evident, that Policy does not reckon Gratitude in the Number of the Virtues. Ambition and his own Interest made him turn against the Family of *Micipsa*, the very Power with which he had been invested only for its Protection. *Numidia* was now divided into Three Principalities; and there reigned in the same Kingdom, and on the same Throne, Three Sovereigns independent of each other, though all Three equally in the Dependance, and under the Protection of the *Romans*. *Jugurtha*, who aspired to be sole Master of *Numidia*, resolved to rid himself of the Two young Princes. He first lays Snares for the younger, whom he causes to be stabbed in his Bed: And this was the first Victim that he sacrific'd to his Ambition.

The elder, filled with Fear at so black an Action, immediately makes his Escape to the Province which had fallen to his Share; and though he was no Warrior, he arms with all Expedition, as well to defend himself against the Attempts of *Jugurtha*, as to revenge the Death of his Brother. *Jugurtha*, on his part, makes Levies of Troops with equal Diligence. The whole Nation divides it self; every Man chuses his Side in this Civil War. The greater Number of *Numidian* Noblemen declare for *Adherbal*; but the best Soldiers and chief Officers adhere to *Jugurtha*. It soon comes to a Battel; *Adherbal* is defeated; and most of his Troops, after the Rout, list themselves under the Banners of his Enemy. The strongest Places open their Gates to the Conqueror. *Adherbal*, to save his Life, is forced to disguise himself; and

and that Prince, after having wandered some Time about his own Dominions, like an unhappy Exile, at length escapes to the Territories of the Republick; from whence he repairs to *Rome*, to implore the Protection of the Senate.

The Presence of this young Prince, driven out of his Kingdom, and the Death of his Brother, murdered by the Usurper's Order, raised a general Indignation, as well in the Senate, as among the People. The whole Talk at *Rome* was of the Necessity there was of sending an Army immediately into *Africa*, to punish *Jugurtha*. That Prince, who had his Enmissaries at *Rome*, and who dreaded the Power and Resentment of the Republick, presently dispatched Ambassadors to justify his Conduct. He laded them with rich Presents, and immense Sums of Money, with Orders to gain him Friends; and, as it were, to purchase whoever was to be sold. The *Numidian* Ambassadors were no sooner come to *Rome*, but they scatter'd Money on all Sides. Few Senators could resist them; most of the Grândeës, being secretly gained themselves, gain'd over others. The Corruption became general; those Envoys found in the Avarice of the Nobility, a certain Refuge for their Master; and all the Deliberations of the Senate terminated in naming Ten Commissioners, who had Orders to repair to *Africa*, to take Cognizance of what had been done there; and, if they thought convenient, to make a new Division of *Micipsa's* Empire between *Jugurtha* and *Adherbal*.

The Head of this Commission was *Opimius*, who had acquired great Credit in the Senate, and among the Grândeës of *Rome*, since the Death of *Caius*, and the Ruin of his Party. He was no sooner arrived in *Africa* with his Colleagues, but *Jugurtha*, who relied much more upon his Money, than the Justice of his Cause, undertook to secure him by magnificent Presents. That Magistrate, no less avari-

avaricious than cruel, sold him his Faith and Honour : His Colleagues were not more incorruptible. The Bargain being made, *Jugurtha* was found innocent. *Hiempsal* was made the Aggressor, and his Death represented as occasioned by his own Rashness. The Division of *Micipsa's* Dominions was afterwards made upon the very Plan proposed by *Jugurtha* himself ; and the Commissioners, to the Scandal of the *Roman* Name, allotted him the strongest Places, and the richest Provinces, as a Reward for his Guilt and Corruption.

That ambitious Prince, after the Departure of the Commissioners, having now nothing more to fear from the Part of *Rome*, resolved to invade the Dominions of *Adherbal* by open Force. But as it was always necessary to have some little Appearance of Justice on his Side, he at first contented himself with making Inroads upon the Frontier, in hopes to provoke the Resentment of *Adherbal*, and to draw him by those Insults to use Reprizals, whence he might have a Pretence to push the War with full Vigor ; nay, and to justify it at *Rome*, if there were occasion for so doing.

*Adherbal*, who knew himself to be his Inferior in Troops, and even in Capacity in the Art of War, chose rather to wink at these little Injuries, than to expose himself to a declared and open War. *Jugurtha*, after having harassed his Country for some Time, without being able to engage him to take up Arms, at length despises his Weakness ; and without seeking any longer for any Pretences, he enters his Dominions at the Head of a powerful Army, besieges and takes the principal Towns, and makes himself Master of most of the Provinces.

After this, there was no other Choice for *Adherbal* to make, but either to abandon his Kingdom a Second Time ; or, notwithstanding all Inequality of Forces, to resolve to defend it generously Sword  
in

in Hand. That young Prince, by the Advice of his Ministers, determines to repel Violence by Violence. He assembles his Troops, makes new Levies, and at length brings an Army into the Field; but more considerable for its Number than Courage. He then marches against the Enemy, to stop the Progress of his Arms.

*Jugurtha*, who had laid his Design, suffers *Adberbal* to encamp without Opposition. He even feigns to be diffident of his own Strength, in order to increase his Confidence. They spend some Days without coming to any Engagement; but by the Advantage of a very dark Night, *Jugurtha* silently advances to *Adberbal's* Camp, attacks it on all Sides; carries the Intrenchments; and cuts in Pieces all that withstand him. He seeks every where for *Adberbal*, whom it was his principal Desire to destroy, in order to put an End to the War by one Blow. But that Prince had the Happiness in his Misfortunes, to escape the Fury of his Enemies. He no sooner beheld his Camp forced, but he threw himself into a Town called *Cirta*, where he shut himself up with the broken Remains of his Army, and thence dispatch'd Ambassadors to *Rome*, to implore anew the Assistance of the Republick.

*Jugurtha*, who sought his Death as the chief Fruit of his Victory, follows him; comes before *Cirta* with his whole Army; invests the Place; presses it close; and swears he will never depart from before its Walls, till he is Master both of the Town, and of *Adberbal's* Person. That unhappy Prince, seeing himself upon the Brink of falling into the Hands of a merciless Enemy, dispatched Messenger after Messenger to *Rome*. The Senate, prepossess'd by *Jugurtha's* Favourers, seems to doubt the Relation of these Ambassadors; and contents it self with sending Three young *Romans* into *Africa*, to take an Account of what is doing there;

there; and in case of War, to order the Two *Numidian* Princes to lay down their Arms. *Jugurtha*, at their Arrival, amuses them first by continual Embassies; and then seduces and corrupts them by considerable Bribes, disguised under the Name of Presents. His Agents, in the Audience which they obtained, affirm, that *Adherbal* had both by open Force, and by base and secret Practices, attacked the Life of their Master, who had taken up Arms only upon the Necessity of a just Defence. The *Roman* Envoys, satisfy'd with these Reasons, which the *Numidian's* Money had render'd just, returned to *Rome*, while *Jugurtha* pushed on the Siege with fresh Vigor.

*Adherbal*, driven to Extremity, writes again to the Senate, and conjures the *Romans*, by the Services of *Masniſſa*, his Grandfather, to save at least his Life. *Dispose as you please of the Kingdom of Numidia*, says that weak Prince to them in his Letter; but suffer me not to fall into the Hands of a Tyrant, and of the Murderer of my Family.

The honest Part of the Senate, and those who had not been corrupted by *Jugurtha's* Money, were of Opinion, that they ought not a Moment longer to defer sending an Army into *Africa*, to raise the Siege of *Cirta*, and to punish *Jugurtha* for not having paid Obedience to the Senate's first Orders. But his Friends, by their Endeavours, hinder'd this Advice from being received, upon Pretence that such an Armament would put them to a needless Charge. They only proposed to send new Commissioners to *Africa*, to decide the Difference between the Two Kings; and this last Advice prevailed above the Honour and Glory of the Republick. *Emilius Scaurus* was placed at the Head of this Commission. He was Prince of the Senate, that is to say, the Man whom the Censor, when he publickly read over the List of the Senators, named

named first; which depended upon the Choice of that Inspector of Manners. That honourable Title was usually never bestowed but upon some old Senator, who had already been honoured with the Consulate or Censorship, and he enjoyed it as long as he lived.

*Scaurus*, illustrious in his Birth, a great Captain, and an able Magistrate, but equally ambitious and covetous, had till now concealed those Faults under the Appearance of the contrary Virtues. Though Avarice was his ruling Passion, he had refused the Bribes offer'd him by *Jugurtha's* Agents, because they distributed it too publickly. This cunning Behaviour, his Age, his Dignity, his Services, made him the Person that was named for the Head of this Commission. He immediately crossed over into *Africa* with his Colleagues, and landed at *Unica*; from whence he sent *Jugurtha* an Account of his Commission, with the Senate's Orders to raise the Siege from before *Cirta* without Delay.

*Jugurtha* leaves his Troops at the Siege, and comes to the Commissioners. He protests, that nothing is more sacred to him than the Orders of the Senate; but at the same Time represents, that *Adherbal* had endeavoured to destroy him; that he attacked him at the Head of an Army. That for his Part, he took up Arms only to defend his Life and Dominions. That the *Romans* were too just to forbid him to do what the Law of Nature allowed to every Man; or to tie his Hands when he was attacked by his Enemy. It was with such like Allegations, or rather with great Sums of Money, but privately dispersed, that the faithless *African* found a Way to elude the Effect of that Commission. *Scaurus* and his Colleagues were not ashamed to return to *Rome*, without having obtained any Thing in the Behalf of *Adherbal*. The *Numidian* having got clear of the only Obstacle that



that he feared, returns to the Siege, pushes it vigorously, and at length reduces *Adherbal*, rather by Famine than by Sword, to put himself into his Hands. That unfortunate Prince demanded no other Condition but the Preservation of his Life, and for the rest, referred himself to the Judgment of the Senate.

*Jugurtha* promised any Thing. He was received into the Place; but as soon as ever he saw it in his Power, he slaughtered the *Numidian* Part of the Garison. He spared only the *Italians*, probably out of respect to the Republick; but as to *Adherbal*, he put him to Death with the most cruel Tortures. This new Murder being known at *Rome*, and the scandalous Prevarication of the Commissioners, raise a general Indignation. The People, especially cried loudly in their Assemblies, that they had sold to that *Barbarian* the Blood of his Brother. The Senate fearing Impunity might at length provoke the People to a Sedition, decreed, notwithstanding all the Opposition of *Jugurtha's* Party, that *L. Bestia Calpurnius*, who was then Consul, should go over to *Africa*, at the Head of an Army, to reduce *Jugurtha* to Obedience. *Calpurnius* had Valour, and a great deal of Experience. But these noble Qualities were tarnished by a fordid Avarice: He seemed to make War merely as a Trade, and only to get Money: He looked upon this *African* Expedition as a glorious Harvest; and no Methods of enriching himself were in his Mind shameful.

But as he was not ignorant that he had the *Roman* People to deal with, and *Tribunes* who might one Day call him to a severe Account for his Conduct, he had the Precaution to engage *Scaurus*, and some of the most considerable Senators in this Expedition. He demanded them for his Lieutenants, under Pretence that he stood in need of Persons so consummate in the Art of War; but at the bottom,

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c. 1. Oros.  
l. 5. c. 15.

bottom, his only Design was to associate them in his Extortions, and to shelter himself under their Names and Credit against all Enquiry.

Nevertheless, it was not without great Surprise and Uneasiness, that *Jugurtha* heard the News of this Armament. He had always flattered himself, that *Adherbal's* Murder would cost him nothing but Money. He immediately dispatched his Son to *Rome*, as a Pledge of his Fidelity and Submission; and sent with him Two Ambassadors with part of his Treasure, with which they had Orders to buy him new Protectors. But *Jugurtha's* Crimes had made too much Noise, for the Senate to wink at them any longer. In the midst of a Corruption so general, and such as we have represented it, there still remained a Dignity in what related to Publick Affairs. No body could so much as take his Part openly, without dishonouring himself. Thus with unanimous Consent, his Son, and his Ambassadors, were ordered to depart from *Italy* in Ten Days, unless they were come to give up the Kingdom of *Numidia*, and the Person of *Jugurtha* himself to the Disposal of the Republick. This Decree was signified to them, and they were obliged to return, without so much as having enter'd the Gates of *Rome*.

As soon as the Levies were ready, *Calpurnius* ordered them to embark at *Rhegium*. They crossed from *Italy* into *Sicily*, and from *Sicily* into *Africa*. The Consul was no sooner arrived there, but he briskly attacked *Jugurtha's* Dominions. His Troops spread themselves over the Country; they carry Fire and Sword where-ever they come. He then forms Sieges, takes Towns, and makes Prisoners. To maintain his Reputation, or perhaps to raise his Price with the King of *Numidia*, he hotly prosecutes the War, and disperses the Terror of his Arms on all Sides. The *Numidian* dreading the Consequences of this War, has Recourse to his

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usual Arms. He finds a Way to spread great Sums to the very Tent of the *Roman* General. Private Emissaries strike the Bargain; *Scaurus* enters into this scandalous Negotiation, and shares *Jugurtha's* Money with *Calpurnius*. To blind the Publick they make a solemn Treaty. The King of *Numidia* seemingly submits to the Orders of the Senate; he delivers up his Towns, his Horses, his Elephants, and pays great Sums of Money. He seems to give himself wholly up to the Discretion of the *Romans*: He comes to the Camp without Guards, or any other Mark of his Dignity; but he had taken the Precaution to have Hostages given him for his safe Return. And after the General of the *Romans* had withdrawn his Army out of his Dominions, he again enter'd into Possession of all his Places. They sent him back for Money, his very Horses and Elephants; and by means of this false Peace, he was left to a quiet Enjoyment of the Fruit of his Guilt, and of *Adherbal's* Murder. This new Prostitution was heard at *Rome* with no less Shame than Sorrow. Every body complained, that the Majesty of the *Roman* People was violated, *Memmius*, one of the Tribunes of the People, hence took Occasion to fall upon the Senate. " Integrity, says he in a full Assembly, is quite lost in that Order; there is no Justice left among them; Money is the Tyrant of *Rome*; and the People have but too often found, that the Grandees and Nobles have no other Deity. They make a Publick Traffick of their Faith and Honour. The Glory and Interests of the Senate are become Articles of Commerce. The Majesty of the Empire has been betrayed; the Republick has been sold in the Army, and in *Rome* it self. *Opimius*, the Murderer of *Caius*, the Butcher of Three Thousand of his Fellow-Citizens, that Tyrant of his Country, while his Hands were yet soiled with the Blood

" Blood of the People, and of their Tribunes, has  
 " filled them with the Gold and Silver of the per-  
 " fidious *Jugurtha*. *Calpurnius* and *Scaurus* are  
 " perhaps not more innocent. We are told, that  
 " the *Numidian* has yielded himself up to the Re-  
 " publick ; that he has delivered up his Places,  
 " his Troops, and his Elephants. Convince us of  
 " the Truth of this Assertion ; make *Jugurtha*  
 " come to *Rome*. If it be true that he has sub-  
 " mitted indeed, he will obey your Orders ; and  
 " if he does not obey them, you may easily judge  
 " that what they call a Treaty, is nothing but a  
 " Collusion between that crafty Prince and our  
 " Generals ; a Treaty that has produced nothing  
 " but Impunity of his Crimes to him, scandalous  
 " Riches to those who were intrusted with the  
 " Senate's Commission, and an eternal Dishonour  
 " to the Republick.

This Discourse stirs up the publick Animosity to  
 the highest Degree. *Opimius* is summoned before  
 the Assembly of the People. He undergoes his  
 Trial, and is banished from *Rome* by a solemn  
 Decree. The Memory of his Cruelties, says  
*Velleius Paterculus*, was so strong, that not one *Ple-*  
*bian* had Compassion on his Misfortune ; and he  
 was obliged, adds *Plutarch*, to pass his old Age in  
 the Dishonour and Shame which he had drawn  
 upon himself by his Avarice and Corruption.

*Cassius*, who was then Prætor, by Virtue of the  
 same Decree of the People, went over to *Africa*,  
 to bring *Jugurtha* to *Rome*. He gave him for his  
 Safeguard the Publick Faith. But that Prince  
 placed more Confidence in his Money ; and he  
 was no sooner arrived, but he gained by rich Pre-  
 sents a Tribune of the People named *Babius* : He  
 then presented himself before the Assembly.  
*Memmius* reproached him with his Ingratitude to  
 the Family of *Micipsa* ; his excessive Ambition ;  
 his Cruelty ; the Murder of his Two adopted Bro-  
 thers ;

thers; his Disobedience to the Orders of the Senate, and his private Intelligence with those who carried them; which was yet more criminal and more odious to the Republick.

The Tribune added, that though the People were not unacquainted with the Names of his Accomplices, and the Prices of their Prostitution, yet they wou'd be informed of them from his own Mouth. That he might hope for all Favour from the Faith and Clemency of the Romans, if he spoke Truth; but that if he concealed or disguised it, he ruined himself irrecoverably: And hereupon he calls upon him to answer Article by Article, to the several Heads of the Accusation, which he had not prepared so much against him, as against the Senators, and the Deputies from the Senate, who had suffered themselves to be corrupted by his Money.

But *Babius* interposing to the Assistance of *Jugurtha*, without alledging any Reason, forbade him to make Answer. Every body is surpriz'd at the Impudence of the Tribune. Nevertheless he obstinately persists in his Opposition, and the People betrayed by one of their own Magistrates, are forced to break up the Assembly, without having received the least Information. Justly provoked at this Collusion, and at *Bebius's* Opposition, they look upon it as the Effect of fresh Bribery, and talk of no less than seizing the King of *Numidia*, and of giving his Crown to another Grandson of *Massinissa*, who fearing *Jugurtha's* Cruelty, had upon *Adherbal's* Death taken Refuge at Rome.

*Jugurtha*, at these Reports, finds out Ruffians that ease him of this Rival. But one of the Murderers being taken, the treacherous *African*, convicted of so foul a Crime by the Depositions of that Villain, and perhaps not having Money enough left to be innocent, receives the Senate's Orders

Orders to depart immediately from *Rome*. He sets out directly, probably for fear of being stopped. It is said, that being come out of the Gates of *Rome*, he look'd back upon them, and cried out; *O mercenary City, thou would'st quickly be enslaved, if a Merchant were found but rich enough to buy Thee!*

As this Prince came to *Rome* upon the Publick Faith, he was suffered to return quietly into his Dominions. But he was soon followed by the Consul *Albinus*, who had Orders to make vigorous War upon him, unless he delivered his Person and Kingdom up to the disposal of the *Roman* People. *Albinus* being arrived in *Africa*, began to prosecute the War with good Success; and he would gladly have finished it before the Expiration of his Consulate. *Jugurtha*, on the contrary, whose only Hope was in the change of Generals, and who expected every Thing from the Advantage of Time, thought of nothing but how to amuse the Consul, and to draw Things out into Length. At one Time he wou'd promise to deliver himself; at another, he wou'd declare that he would sooner quit his Life than his Crown. Now he wou'd fly before the *Romans*, and presently afterwards come and attack them in their very Camp. He then wou'd send Messengers and Envoys to propose Treaties: Every Day brought forth some new Proposal. The Consul perplexed in this Abyss of Negotiations, in which he cou'd see no Bottom, cou'd not be said to make either War or Peace. And the Time of the *Comitia* being come, he was obliged to leave *Africa*, and to repair to *Rome*, to preside in the Election of new Consuls; and he departed, after having given the Command of the Army to *Aulus*, his Lieutenant and Brother.

This was the greatest Advantage *Jugurtha* cou'd wish for. He had now to deal with a Captain

without Valour or Military Knowledge, and whose only Qualification was being the General's Brother. A great Presumption blinded him from seeing his own Incapacity; and a sordid Avarice made him make as many Faults as Enterprizes.

In the very Depth of Winter he drew his Troops out of their Quarters to besiege *Suthul*, one of the strongest Places in *Numidia*, where *Jugurtha* kept part of his Treasures. This was the Lure that drew him; but the Prey was inclosed in a Castle, situated upon the Brow of a Hill, and surrounded by Marshes, which the Rains and the Snows being melted, had made impracticable.

*Aulus*, blinded by his Avarice, ventures nevertheless to besiege it. *Jugurtha*, overjoyed to see him employ himself in so difficult an Undertaking, caused divers Proposals to be made to him, as if he had dreaded the Success of his Arms. To keep up his Presumption, he from Time to Time sent Deputies to him to beg Peace, in Terms as submissive, as if he had been already Master of all *Numidia*. He neglected not however to advance with his Army, as if he meant to endeavour at throwing Succours into the Place. But he had instructed his Officers to affect a Countenance full of Diffidence.

*Aulus*, who flattered himself that he had spread Terror among the *Numidians*, marches against them as to a sure Victory. *Jugurtha*, to encourage him in his Confidence, and continue him in his Error, feigns to betake himself to Flight. His Troops retire in a precipitate manner. The Roman General pursues them warmly; and all his Fear is, lest *Jugurtha* should escape him. But the crafty *Numidian*, who knew the Country, draws and leads him insensibly into narrow Passes, all whose Avenues he had before secured; and *Aulus* finds himself taken and conquered almost before he had seen the Enemy.

Distrust

Distrust and Terror run through his Troops. The *Numidians* charged the *Romans* in Front and Rear. They shower upon them a Storm of Arrows. Some are slain ; others seek a Passage and Means to fly. But whatever Way they turn themselves, they meet the Enemy, and Death. At length the *Roman* General, with his principal Officers, gains the Top of a Mountain, where *Jugurtha*, who was sure he could not escape him, suffers him to spend the Night. The Day discovers his Defeat in its full Extent. He sees one Part of his Troops cut to Pieces, and the other besieged by a Victorious Enemy, who is Master of all the Country : There was a Necessity of coming to a Capitulation. *Jugurtha* pretends, that he will not make use of all his Advantages. He grants the *Roman* Life and Liberty, but upon Condition that they should pass under the Yoke ; an ignominious Ceremony, by which the Conquerors affixed an eternal Shame to the Defeat of the Vanquished. He exacts besides from the General and principal Officers, that the *Romans* shall never disturb him in the Possession of *Numidia*. *Aulus*, no less abject than presumptuous, subscribes to every Thing ; and a *Roman* is seen to be in more fear of Death, than of the loss of his Honour.

The Senate was no sooner informed of so shameful a Treaty, but they declared it void. They recalled *Aulus* ; and *Metellus*, the Consul elected, was intrusted with the Prosecution of the *Numidian* War. He was a Senator of one of the best Families in *Rome*, a great Captain, a good Man, of a Virtue and Probity universally acknowledged ; one, who though he was of the contrary Party to that of the People, was as agreeable to them, as to the *Patricians* themselves, whose Glory and greatest Support he was.



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The Romans knowing his great Qualities, and particularly that he was incorruptible, no longer made the least Doubt of the Defeat of *Augustus*, who had hitherto maintained himself by nothing but Artifices, and the Avarice of the Leaders that had been sent against him. *Metellus* assembles his Troops, makes new Levies, lays up Magazines of Provisions, Arms, and Ammunition, and sets out for *Numidia*, accompanied by *Caius Marius*, whom the People had chosen for one of his Lieutenants.

*Marius* was born in a Village near *Arpinum*, of poor Parents, who earned their Livelyhood by the Labour of their Hands. He had been brought up in rustick Employments, and his Manners were as fierce as his Face was terrible; he was a Man of a great Bulk; of extraordinary Strength of Body, Courageous, and a Soldier, before he ever wore Arms. He entered betimes into the Army, and distinguished himself by Actions of a very extraordinary Valour, and above all, by an exact Practice of the Military Discipline. He sought in all Occasions, Dangers worthy of his Courage; and the longest Marches, and greatest Fatigues of War, were nothing to a Man brought up in a hard way of Living. There was observed in all his Conduct, an extreme Averseness to Pleasures: And after his Advancement, he seemed to be sensible to nothing but Ambition and Revenge; Passions which cost the Republick so much Blood. He went through all the Degrees in the Army, and every Step he rose, was in reward for some Action, by which he had signalized himself. When he asked of the People the Office of Tribune in a Region, most of his Fellow-Citizens did not know his Face; but his Name was unknown to no Body; and by means of a Reputation so well established, he carried that Employment from several *Patricians* that were his Competitors. *Metellus*,  
who

who was so good a Judge of Valour, afterwards promoted him to the chief Posts in the Army, and by his Protection, he had attained even the Dignity of Tribune of the People. It was now that he began to discover his Ambition, and the violent Hatred which he bore to the Party of the Nobles. He was incessantly declaiming against the Luxury of the Senators; and though he was not eloquent, he was daily representing to the People, with a strong thundering Voice, what a Shame it was to them that they durst never intrust the Command of the Armies, and the chief Dignities of the State, to any but *Patricians*. That those covetous and ambitious Men had made them almost a Patrimony to themselves; that by means of their great Credit, they handed them down from one to another, and that while they were involved with them, they practised all manner of Extortions with Impunity.

*Marius*, to break their Cabals, and prevent their Methods of promoting each other, proposed a new Law, and a new way of giving the Suffrages, in the Election of the *Curule* Magistrates. *Cotta*, who was then Consul, and who saw into his Designs, opposed the Publication of the Law, and the new Tribune was even called before the Senate to answer for his Conduct. *Marius* appeared, and instead of being daunted, as a Man of such low Birth, and so unexperienced in Affairs, might have been expected to be, he boldly threatened the Consul, that he would cause him to be seized, if he persisted in his Opposition. He then turned towards *Metellus*, who hitherto had been his Patron, as it were to ask him to declare in his Favour. But *Metellus* having publicly disapproved his Conduct, *Marius*, without any Respect for a Magistrate, to whom he was obliged for his Fortune, immediately commanded his Officers to seize him: And he had been carried to Prison with

*Cotta,*

*Cotta*, if that Consul had not forbore his Opposition. *Marius* went directly from the Senate to the Assembly of the People, where he got his Law confirmed. The People, charmed with his Resoluteness, gave him extravagant Praises, and afterwards appointed him to go into *Numidia*, in Quality of *Metellus's* Lieutenant. That General, who preferred the good of his Country to any private Resentment, employed him with all the Confidence that his Valour and Capacity deserved. His Confidence was not misplac'd, and *Marius* was ever after looked upon as the surest Instrument of

Val. Max.

L. 2. c. 7.

Front.

Stratag.

L. 4. C. 1.

Salust. Flo.

L. 3. c. 1.

Oros. L. 5.

c. 15.

his Victories. *Metellus*, being arrived in *Africa*, made it his first Business to restore the Military Discipline among the Troops, which *Aulus* delivered over to him; he then marched against *Jugurtha*, gain'd Two Victories over that Prince, took his Chief Towns from him; and after having pursued him from Province to Province, at length drove him to the very Extremity of his Dominions. *Jugurtha*, having now neither Troops to fight *Metellus*, nor a Place of Refuge left, desired to Capitulate; and offered to submit to all the Conditions that the Roman General shou'd think fit to prescribe to him. *Metellus* first ordered him to pay Two Hundred Thousand Pound Weight of Silver for the Charge of the War; to deliver up all his Elephants, and a certain Quantity of Arms and Horses; which he executed punctually. The Consul then demanded that he shou'd yield up the Deserters. *Jugurtha* obeyed in this also; and gave up those that he cou'd lay Hands on. But when, lastly, he was ordered to repair himself to *Tifidum*, there to receive further Directions, then he began to hesitate, and spent several Days, without being able to come to any Resolution. The Remembrance of his Crimes; the Apprehensions that they intended to revenge the Death of the Two Princes, *Adherbal* and *Hiempsal*; the Charms of

of Sovereignty, and the Horror there was in the Thought of falling from a Throne into Servitude, drew him to tempt once more the Fate of War; and though he was stripped of his chief Forces, he thought he had still enough remaining to lengthen out the War, or at least to keep off his Destruction for some little Time. Thus he breaks off the Negotiation; gathers together new Troops; fortifies some little Places that were still in his Power at the Extremity of his Kingdom, and endeavours to surprize those which the *Romans* had made themselves Masters of.

*Metellus* had put a Garrison into *Vacca*, one of the largest and richest Cities of *Namidia*, and had given the Government of it to *Turpilus Silanus*, his Friend and Host, but no *Roman* Citizen. *Turpilus*, a worthy Man, free from all Pride and Avarice, forgot no Methods to tame those *Barbarians*, and to gain their Affections by the Mildness of his Government. All the Inhabitants were charmed with his Justice and Moderation; but the Love of their Country, so natural to all Men, Fidelity to their Sovereign, and Aversion to a Foreign Yoke, prevailed above the Esteem they had for *Turpilus*. The Chief of the City suffered themselves to be gained by *Jugurtha*; they afterwards take the Opportunity of a publick Festival, to invite the Officers to feast at their Houses. Every Man stabs his Guest; and by the means of this Tumult *Jugurtha* enters the City, and cuts the *Roman* Garrison to Pieces. *Turpilus* alone escaped this Massacre, through the Gratitude of the Inhabitants; who begged his Life of *Jugurtha*, and afterwards conducted him to the very Camp of the *Romans*, where he gave an Account of this unhappy Accident.

Though *Metellus* was convinced that he was rather unfortunate than guilty, he could not help causing him to be imprisoned. He was immediately

diately had before the Council of War. *Marius*, to spite his General, sets himself up for the Accuser of *Turpilius*; he charges him with having sold the Town, and prosecutes this Affair so warmly, that he gets him condemned to Death. It was not till after *Metellus* had retaken *Vacca*, that *Turpilius's* Innocence, and the Treachery of the Inhabitants was made plain. Every body pitied him: The Friends of the Roman General bewailed with him the unfortunate End of a Man, whom he had thought worthy of his Friendship. There was none but *Marius* who sought to make himself considerable, by a declared Hate against his General, that rejoiced publicly at the Death of *Turpilius*; and he insolently boasted, that he had found Means to torment *Metellus* with a perpetual Remorse, and an avenging Fury, who would be continually requiring of him the innocent Blood of his Host and Friend. *Marius*, eat up with Ambition, affected this publick Hatred to one of the chief *Patricians* in the Senate, only to gain himself Credit with the opposite Party. He had no sooner attained to be the Consul's Lieutenant, but he aspired to his Place; and to arrive at it, he omitted nothing that might gain him Reputation. He was in all Undertakings: He was for heading all Parties of Troops: And as well in Councils, as in Battels and Sieges, no body gave more prudent Advice, or fought with more Courage and Valour. He was at the same Time admir'd for that Temperance and Frugality, from which he never departed. His Habit and Diet were the same as the meanest Soldier's: Though a General Officer, he eat of the same Bread that was distributed to the meanest in the Army; lay upon the Ground, or some coarse Mattress; and was the first in all Labours, whether to open a Trench, or fortify the Camp.

Mean while, as the Time of the Election of Consuls came on, and as he openly aspired to that great Dignity ; he causes it to be reported at *Rome* by his Emissaries, That *Metellus* prolonged the War, only to continue himself in his Power and Command : That that *Patrician*, proud of his noble Birth, had more Ostentation than real Merit: That his natural Slowness being increased by Age, gave Opportunity to an active and vigilant Enemy to traverse his Marches : That they would never see an End of this War, unless they changed their General: And that for his Part, if they gave him but half the Troops that *Metellus* had in his Army, he would undertake in one single Campaign, to bring *Jugurtha* to *Rome*, dead or alive. The Tribunes of the People, overjoy'd to find a Man of such Merit to set up in the Election against the *Patricians* that pretended to the Consulate, make Interest in his Favour. The Heads of the Tribes are easily gained : They make sure of the greatest Number of Voices, and loudly boast in *Rome*, That in spite of all the Credit of the Great, the Consulate in this Election should go out of the Order of the *Patricians*. *Marius* inform'd of this favourable Inclination towards him in the People, desires his Discharge of *Metellus*, that he might go in Person, according to the Law, to demand that Dignity ; which was never conferr'd upon the absent. *Metellus* was surprized, and indeed fill'd with Indignation, that a Man of so low an Extract shou'd make such high Pretensions: And though that General was full of Honour, and deserved his great Reputation ; *Salust* tells us, he was not quite free from that Pride which is almost inseparable from Noble Birth. It was in this Spirit that he answer'd *Marius* with a kind of Raillery, mix'd with Contempt: That he advis'd him to defer putting up for the Consulship,

till

till young Metellus his Son was old enough to be his Collegue.

This Son of Metellus was not yet Twenty Years old, and actually served at that Time in his Father's Army. Every body knows, that in the ordinary Course, a Man was to be at least Forty Three Years old, to attain the Consulship. Marius, without seeming offended at so sharp an Answer, again solicits his Discharge; obtains it; and arrives at Rome before the Day of the Comitia. One of the Tribunes introduced him in the first Assembly. Marius, under the Pretence of giving the People an Account of the Numidian War, was not ashamed, in order to exalt himself, to vilify the great Actions of his General. He ascribed to himself the Honour of all Advantages; and according to his Account, Metellus, that great Captain, had contributed nothing to the Victories, but his Name and Auspices. He mixed with all this, Insinuations full of Malice; That Metullus protracted the War, either to continue himself longer in the Honour of the Command, or out of his natural Inactivity: That the timorous and uncertain manner in which he carried on this War, made him seem more like a Man that did not so much think of putting an End to it, and of Conquering, as of not being vanquished. That for his Part, who knew the contrary, and was certainly more active and vigilant than Metellus; he wou'd engage in one Campaign to take Jugurtha, dead or alive, or to drive him out of Numidia, and all Africa. The People already prepossess'd in his Favour, and charmed with his Boldness, gave him the highest Praises; and Marius looked upon them as sure Pledges of an approaching Consulship. Not but that he saw great Obstacles in his way, especially from the Nobles, who could never consent that a Man of such low Birth should fill the Chief Dignity in the Republick,

Cic. Ofic.  
L. 3.

publick. They wou'd much more willingly have made him General of the Army in *Numidia*. But as those Two Employments were inseparable, the Command of the Armies always belonging to the Consuls; *Marius* was at length made Consul, that he might be General of the *Numidian* Army.

The new Consul, intoxicated with his Greatness, *Year of* gave free Reins to the Hatred he had always bore *Rome,* to the Body of the Nobility. He insulted them in *646.* all his Discourses; and boasted, That the Dignity he had obtained, was a Victory which the People had won over the Great, by means of his Courage and Valour. "They despise my Birth," said he, and I despise their Pride and Effemina-  
 "cy. They upbraid me with my Poverty, so  
 "much esteem'd among our Ancestors; and I,  
 "much more justly, upbraid them with their  
 "Avarice; to which we daily see them sacrifice  
 "their Faith, their Honour, the Glory and Inte-  
 "rest of the Republick. They envy the Dignity,  
 "to which the Votes of the People, and of all  
 "good Men, have rais'd me. Why do they not  
 "also envy me my Labours in War, the Dangers  
 "to which I have so often expos'd my self, and  
 "the Wounds that I have receiv'd in Battel?  
 "I am arrived at the Command no otherwise,  
 "than by a long Course of Obedience; and they  
 "expect to command, without ever having  
 "obey'd, and without any other Merit besides that  
 "of their Birth. If they commit Faults, if they  
 "suffer themselves by their Negligence to be sur-  
 "prized by the Enemy; the Credit, the Cabals  
 "of their Relations, their Swarm of Creatures,  
 "cover all. The Losses they occasion are con-  
 "niv'd at and disguised, or thrown upon Subal-  
 "tern Officers. The Truth never pierces the  
 "Cloud formed by the Authority of the Great,  
 "and the Flattery of their Slaves. For my Part,  
 "I never had any of these Aids: I have no Rela-

" tions



" tions in High Posts: I cannot produce the Im-  
 " ges, the Consulships, and Triumphs of my An-  
 " cestors. My whole Reliance is upon my self;  
 " and I have no Support, but my Courage. I  
 " even confess, that the Talent of Elocution is  
 " what I am no Master of: I am ignorant of that  
 " dangerous Art, which enables a Man to cover  
 " with fine Words the Shame of Actions full of  
 " Baseness. Educated almost from my Infancy in  
 " a Camp, and bred up in the Military Discipline,  
 " I have learnt nothing but how to make good  
 " Use of my Sword. There lies my whole Stu-  
 " dy; and this is the Instruction and Example  
 " which I shall give my Soldiers. It is by the  
 " Practice of these Lessons, that we hope to put  
 " a speedy End to the *Numidian War*. By taking  
 " the Command of the Army out of the Hands of  
 " the Great, you have removed the chief Obsta-  
 " cle that lay in the way to Victory. It has been  
 " nothing but their Ignorance in the Military Art,  
 " their Presumption, and, especially their scanda-  
 " lous Avarice, that have drawn out the War to  
 " such a Length already.

*Marius* having added to the People's Confidence  
 by this Discourse, desir'd new Recruits for the Le-  
 gions; and that he might be allow'd to take Aux-  
 iliary Troops of the Nations that were Subjects, or  
 Allies of the Republick. He obtains as many De-  
 crees and *Plebiscita* as he asks. The People, and  
 especially the meaner Sort, proud of having a  
 Consul of their own Order, run with the greatest  
 Eagerness to list themselves under his Banners.  
 All are for following him; they think the Victory  
 certain under so great a General: And the new  
 Soldier flatters himself, that he shall quickly re-  
 turn to his Country laden with Booty.

*Marius* receives indifferently into his Troops  
 all that offer themselves, even such as were not  
 worth what was prescribed by the Laws to capa-  
 citate

citate a Man to be list'd in the *Roman Militia*. But this Consul, a Slave to Ambition, and who privately had formed the vastest Designs, was not sorry to bind to himself these Sort of People, without Substance or Home, who cou'd subsist only by his Protection. He then embarked with his new Levies, and soon arrived in *Africa*.

*Metellus* heard not without the greatest Vexation, that he must give Place to a Successor, especially at a Time when the War seem'd almost concluded, and he had nothing more to do, but to make himself Master of a few Places of small Importance. It is said, that this great and wise Man could not help shedding Tears at the first News he heard of it. *Sallust*, from whom I have taken most of these Facts, relates, that this Injustice, so intolerable to a General, wou'd have given *Metellus* less Concern, if the Republick's Choice had fall'n upon any but *Marius*, whom he always look'd upon as his Creature, and as an ungrateful Wretch, that had decry'd his Conduct, to raise himself upon the Ruins of his Reputation. As he cou'd not bear the Thoughts of seeing a Man that was so hateful to him, he appointed *Rutilius* one of his Lieutenants, to deliver over his Army to *Marius*; and then departed for *Rome*, where he very soon arrived.

His Return, and the Account he gave of the Success of his Arms, the Towns he had taken, the Provinces he had conquer'd, and the Battels he had won; these quickly destroy'd and wip'd off the ill Reports which *Marius* had raised against him. The Esteem and Respect which the People had for that great Man, revived afresh. *Velleius Paterculus* informs us, that they with a unanimous Consent, decreed him the Honour of the Triumph, with the Surname of *Numidicus*: And it was observed, says that Historian, that there was in *Rome* above Twelve Magistrates, all at the same

Time, of the same Family as *Metellus*, who, in less than Twelve Years, had rais'd themselves to the Chief Dignities of the Republick; some to the Consulate, others to the Censorship, and several that had added to these Dignities the Glory of a Triumph.

*Marius* being landed upon the Coast of *Africa*, was soon after join'd by *Cornelius Sylla*, his Quæstor; who brought him a strong Body of Horse, which he had rais'd among the *Latins*. The Quæstors were the Treasurers General of the Republick. They are thought to be as ancient as the Foundation of *Rome*; though some refer their Origin to the Consuls; as we have already said. There were Two that always stay'd at *Rome*, and Two others, and afterwards a greater Number were added, who usually attended the Consuls to the Army. It was necessary to have been at least Ten Years in the Service, to attain this Employment; And though the Quæstors had no Jurisdiction in the City, they had particular Commands in the Army. And as every Thing seems to depend upon those who have the Administration of the Treasure, several Consulars were known to put up for that Post. *Titus Quintius Capitolinus*, after Three Consulships, thought it not beneath him to accept the Office of Quæstor. *Cato* the Ancient served in it, after having been honour'd with a Triumph: And it was at length decreed by the *Lex Pompeia*, That for the future none should be admitted into the Quæstorship but Consulars: Which shews, what a Notion the Men most jealous of their Dignities and Birth have of the Advantage of being concern'd in the Publick Monies.

*Sylla*, before this Law, obtained it by that Time he was One and Thirty Years Old. It seems, says *Velleius Paterculus*, as if Destiny, by bringing *Sylla* and *Marius* together, had had an Inclination to unite those Two Men, and to prevent the Calamities

mities which their Discord afterwards brought upon the Republick. But since they are both going to act such great Parts in this History, it will be proper to give a more particular Knowledge of *Sylla*; especially when we have already drawn the Character of *Marius*.

*Lucius Cornelius Sylla*, a *Patrician*, and of one *Sal. Val.* of the most illustrious Families in *Rome*, was *Max. l. 6.* well made, of a handsome Aspect, his Air was *c. 9.* noble, his Manners easy; seemingly full of Freedom, as if his whole Heart lay open to you; naturally insinuating, persuasive, eloquent: He loved Pleasure, but Glory more. His Duty took Place of every Thing: He could give himself up to Pleasure, and tear himself from it with equal Ease. He strove to please every Body; modest in his Speech, if he talked of himself; lavish of Praises to others, and yet more so of Money. He lent it readily to those that applied to him, and prevented those who had occasion for it, and were afraid to ask him. He never demanded it again; and it seemed as if he intended to buy the whole Army. Familiar above all with the Common Soldiers, he would become one of them himself, assume their coarse Manners, drink with them, rally them, and be rallied by them with Pleasure. But when he was risen from Table, always serious, active, diligent. He was a perfect *Proteus*, and could put on all these several Characters with the greatest Ease, and his Virtues and Vices were equally concealed under the deepest Dissimulation, which made him impenetrable even in his most secret Pleasures, to the very Companions of his Debauches.

Such was *Sylla* when he came to *Africa*, and into *Plut. in* *Marius's* Army. He applied himself first to gain *Sylla.* the Esteem of the ablest Soldiers, by his Diligence in all the Military Duties; whether the Army was to fight or to intrench, *Sylla* was every where.

He ran to those Parts where there was most Danger, with the same Readiness that others return from them. A noble Emulation made him sue for the most dangerous Employments; and it was not long before he acquired the Esteem of the General, and of the Soldiers in an equal Degree. *Marius* afterwards even gave him a separate Body of Troops, which he commanded in Chief. I shall enter into the Particulars of this War, no further than is necessary for the Connection of the several Parts of my Story. It is sufficient to take Notice, that before *Marius's* Arrival in *Africa*, *Jugurtha*, driven by *Metellus* to the Extremity of his Dominions, had got a neighbouring King, named *Bocchus*, for his Protector and Ally. These Two Princes *Marius* had to deal with. He took *Capsa*, a great City, and very populous; and afterwards made himself Master of the Fort, before which *Aulus Albinus* had received his Defeat. The Armies quickly came to a Battel. The Two Kings, by a private March, surprize the *Romans*; attack them in the Night; fill their Troops with Terror; make a great Slaughter; and must have gained a compleat Victory, if the Obscurity had not hinder'd them from knowing the Advantage they had gained, and improving it. *Marius* quickly had his Revenge; and almost before the News came to *Rome* of the Loss he had received in the first Action, Advice came that he had defeated the Two Kings in Two decisive Battels, and disabled them both from keeping the Field.

*Bocchus* having in these Two Battels felt the Valour and Fortune of the *Romans*, did not think fit to hazard his own Crown to defend that of his Ally; he resolved to make his Peace, and sent Ambassadors quite to *Rome* to sue for it.

These Ambassadors, being admitted into the Senate, said, That the King, their Master, had been abused by the Artifices of *Jugurtha*, that he repented

Oros. l. 5.  
c. 15.

Year of  
Rome,  
646.

Plut. in  
Mar. Sil.  
Bell. Ju-  
gur. vide  
Oros.  
Eutr. Flo.

repented his Engagement with him, and desired the Alliance and Friendship of the *Romans*. Answer was made him in these Terms.

“ The Senate and *Roman* People are not used “ to forget neither Services nor Injuries; however, “ since *Bocchus* repents of his Fault, they grant “ him their Pardon. As to Peace and Alliance, “ he shall obtain them when he has deserved them “ by his Actions.” *Bocchus*, perplexed with this Answer, secretly intreated *Marius* to send him his Quæstor. *Sylla* repair’d to him. Several Ways were propos’d for establishing a Peace; “ You “ have no other (says *Sylla* to *Bocchus*) but to deliver *Jugurtha* to us. By this you will make “ Amends for the Imprudence and Mischief of “ your first Engagement; and this must be the “ Price of our Alliance and Friendship.” *Boc-*

*chus* seemed shocked at such a Proposal, and represented to *Sylla*, that such a Piece of Treachery as this would affix an everlasting Shame to his Memory. This was the Subject of several Conferences between that King and the *Roman* Quæstor. But *Sylla*, who was pressing and eloquent, so often repeated and urged it so strongly upon him, that nothing but an extraordinary Piece of Service could expiate the Injustice he had been guilty of in declaring against the *Romans*, that he at length determin’d to yield up *Jugurtha*. That

Prince was betray’d, and seiz’d in a pretended Conference which *Bocchus* desired of him; he was laden with Chains, and given up to *Sylla*, who deliver’d him into the Hands of *Marius*, his General; and by the Captivity of this unhappy Prince, the *Numidian* War was entirely concluded.

This good News could not have come to *Rome* at a more lucky Time. They had just heard, that a prodigious Multitude of *Barbarians* out of the North advanced towards the South, and threatn’d all *Italy*. It was resolv’d to send *Marius* against

*Year of  
Rome,  
649.*

them, who was now just in the Height of that Favour and Applause which a new Victory gives a General. He was named Consul the Second Time, though the Laws would not allow a Man that was absent to be chosen Consul; nay, and required Ten Years Interval between Two Consulships. To these very remarkable Favours, the People added the Government of *Gallia Narbonensis*, and at the same Time decreed him the Honours of the Triumph. *Jugurtha*, laden with Chains, was the principal Ornament of it. He was dragged like a Slave at the Wheels of *Marius's* Chariot. That Prince, after this Ceremony, was led to Prison, where he was condemned to be starv'd to Death. The Executioner tore off his Royal Robe, stripped him of all his Cloaths, and then pushed him into a deep Dungeon, which was to be his Tomb. It is related, that as he went into it stark naked, he cried out, *O Hercules, how cold are thy Stoves!* Alluding to the Baths of that God, which were said to be cold. That Prince struggling with Hunger, continued Six Days living; and a vain Desire of prolonging his Life, served as a Punishment to a King, who had always reckoned for nothing the Death of his nearest Relations, and of the greatest Men of his Court, whom he had sacrific'd to his Fortune and Ambition.

*The End of the Ninth Book.*

BOOK

## B O O K X.

*Marius delivers Gaul and Italy from Three Hundred Thousand Barbarians, known by the Name of Cimbri and Teutones, who had already despoiled a large Country, and defeated several Roman Generals. But envying Metellus his Reputation and Power, he meditates his Ruin. He unites with Saturninus and Glaucia, and prevails to have him Exiled. Those Two Men, the greatest Profligates in the whole Commonwealth, are stoned and beaten to Death. Metellus is recall'd. Sylla's great Skill in the Art of War. Marius growing jealous of him, looks on him as his Enemy. Rome divides their Affections betwixt those Two Generals. Ready to tear each other to Pieces by a Civil War, the Romans reunite against several Nations of Italy, who had made a League to oblige the Romans by Force of Arms to grant them the Title and Privileges of Roman Citizens. Sylla is preferr'd to Marius in the Command against Mythridates. The fatal Consequences of that Preference, Particular Account of the Civil War it occasion'd, Death of Marius.*

**G**reat and uncommon were the Rejoicings which the People of Rome made on the Day that *Marius* triumph'd, not only on a Publick Account, but because the Consulate of that *Plebeian* was of their own procuring; consequently they look'd on themselves as the Authors of his Victories, and Associates in his Triumph. The Tri-  
M 4 bunes



*bunes* took thence continual Occasions to insult the *Patricians* in their Speeches: They haughtily ask'd of 'em, What Commander, what General from amongst them, was comparable to that *Plebeian*? And if it was still their Opinion, that no body could pretend to Valour, Courage, or Skill, in the Command of Armies, who did not derive his Origin from the Nobility? The *Patricians*, on the other Hand, to lessen *Marius's* Glory, gave out, that all the Honour of Victory was due to *Metellus*; who, after Two compleat Battels gain'd, had drove *Jugurtha* to the most distant Parts of his Dominions; and that *Marius* might yet have been in *Africa*, if *Sylla*, a *Patrician*, had not made himself Master of that King's Person in *Numidia*. *Sylla* himself, yet more jealous of *Marius's* Glory, than the other had been of the Advantages gain'd by *Metellus*, caused the History of that Event to be engrav'd on a Stone, to perpetuate the Memory thereof. On it was seen, in what manner *Bocchus* delivered up *Jugurtha* to him; and to tease *Marius* yet more, he from that Time us'd that Stone for his common Seal; a Circumstance which in History would seem of little Import, if the same had not given Birth to the Divisions which afterwards happen'd betwixt those Two Great Men; and in which the Senate and People so greatly interested themselves.

But this Competition and Party Spirit were laid aside at the first News of the Approach of those *Barbarians* we just mention'd. More than Three Hundred Thousand Men, known by the Names of *Teutones* and *Cimbri*, issued from *Chersonesus Cimbrica*, had enter'd into a Confederacy to seek for Lands in a more temperate and warmer Climate than their own. These *Barbarians*, attended with an innumerable Body of old Men, Women and Children, broke into *Gaul*, where they committed great Outrages. The *Cimbri* cut in Pieces the Army

Army commanded by *M. Junius Silanus*, and defeated another Body; commanded by *M. Aurelius Scaurus*, Lieutenant of *Cn. Mallius*, then Consul; The like Misfortune befel that Consul, and *Q. Servilius Cepio*, who soon after lost above Fourſcore Thousand Men in Two great Battels. Then those *Barbarians* ſeparated, the *Teutones* remain'd in *Gaul*, from whence they made Preparation to paſs into *Italy*, and the *Cimbri* took their way into *Germany*. So many Loſſes, joined to the great Numbers and Fierceneſs of thoſe *Barbarians*, ſtruck a Terror into the *Romans*. Jealouſy gave way; the Two Parties that divided *Rome* were united; and all, as with one Accord, made *Marius* Chief Commander in the Expedition againſt their Common Enemy. He was voted Consul Two Years together, <sup>Tear of</sup> which was his Second and Third Conſulate; in <sup>Rome,</sup> which Time he raiſed great Armies, and fortified <sup>650.</sup> the Straits and Paſſes through which the Enemy might penetrate into *Italy*. He return'd to *Rome*, <sup>Plut. in</sup> to preſide at the Election of new Conſuls. There <sup>Mario.</sup> did he declare, that he did not pretend to that Dignity, ſince he had already enjoy'd it thrice, and would even decline it, if it was offer'd him. But thoſe who knew to what a Degree he was aſpiring and ambitious, laugh'd at that ſham Modeſty; and eaſily penetrated into his Deſigns, when they obſerv'd what Part he made *Saturninus*, his Creature, and a Tribune, to act at the ſame Time, who openly called him Knave and Traytor, for reſuſing to ſerve his Country, animating the People to compel *Marius* by Force, to take upon him the Command of the Army.

This Stratagem was too groſs not to be diſcern'd by a Nation ſo clear-ſighted as the *Romans* were. But as at that Time they had no General of a ſuperior Capacity, and that *Metellus* was too aged to take upon him the Management of a War, wherein there would be occaſion for as much Activity

Year of  
Rome,  
651.

vity as Courage; *Marius* was elected Consul for the Fourth Time, and *Catulus Lucatius* was appointed his Colleague; a Man indeed unequal to him in the Art of War, but excelling him in Modesty, Probity, and sweet Behaviour.

Plut. in  
Mario.  
Oros. l. 5.  
c. 16.  
Flor. l. 3.  
c. 3.  
Liv. Epit.  
l. 68.

The Two Consuls divided the Legions betwixt 'em. *Marius* with his Share marched against the *Tentones*, whom he met and defeated near *Aix* in *Provence*. Historians relate, that the Battel lasted Two whole Days; that a Hundred and Fifty Thousand of the *Tentones* were slain; and that by so general a Defeat, that *Barbarian* Nation was almost quite extinct. The *Cimbri*, more successful at first, had pass'd the *Alps*, and penetrated into the *Gallia Cisalpina*. *Catulus* waited for them upon the Banks of the *Atbesis* (*Adige*). But having no more than Twenty Thousand Men to oppose so powerful an Host, a general Terror seiz'd the Hearts of his Army; many fled before the Approach of the Enemy; and the Roman General, to save the rest, was forced to quit the Banks of the River, and to encamp in such Defilees as he might not be forc'd from. *Marius*, in the Beginning of his Fifth Consulate, came to his Relief with a Victorious Army. The Two Consuls having join'd their Forces, gave Battel to the *Cimbri*, in the Plain of *Vercelli*. Those *Barbarians* were defeated, and the *Romans* obtain'd so compleat a Victory, that, if Credit may be given to their Historians, an Hundred and Twenty Thousand of the *Cimbri* fell on the Field of Battel, besides Sixty Thousand that were taken Prisoners.

Plut. in  
Mario &  
Scyll.  
Oros. l. 5.  
c. 16.  
Vell. Pat.  
l. 2.

The Two Consuls jointly triumph'd, on account of these Victories; and *Marius*, insatiable of Honours, put up for a Sixth Consulate with as much Eagerness as he had for the first. It is even related, that he bought it by Presents given underhand to the Heads of the Tribes, and those who bore the greatest Sway among the People; and that

that at the same Time he made use of the like Means to get *Metellus* excluded, whose Virtues and Experience, join'd to the Wishes of all honest Men, loudly call'd him to the Government of the Commonwealth. To him they preferr'd *Valerius Flaccus*, who was less the Colleague than the Slave of *Marius*. This Man, so truly Great by his Valour and Services to his Country during the War, became its Tyrant during the Peace.

In this exalted State of Glory, to which his Victories had rais'd him, he could not bear the Presence of *Metellus*, because he saw that his Virtues made him more admir'd than himself. Not satisfy'd with having disappointed him of his Consulship, he made use of the meanest and most unworthy Artifices to get him banish'd Rome. To this Effect he leagu'd himself with Two Senators, the one call'd *Glaucia*, the other *Saturninus*, both declared Enemies of *Metellus*, the most profligate Men in the whole Commonwealth, and whom that grave Senator would have expell'd the Senate during his Censorship, if he had not been oppos'd therein by his Colleague, with whom they had some Interest.

These Three Men united their Resentment and Cabals. *Marius* was Consul, *Glaucia* Prætor; and *Saturninus*, who had been once before a Tribune of the People, solicited for that Post a Second Time, that he might use the Power annex'd to that Dignity, against *Metellus*. But on the Day of Election, *Nonius*, one of *Saturninus*'s Competitors, took Occasion to describe in such lively Colours, the various Crimes he was guilty of, that this People, in whom there was yet a Remnant of the ancient Probity of their Ancestors, blush'd at their first Design of putting so wicked a Man at their Head. He did not get one single Vote, and *Nonius* was chosen in his Stead. This Preference cost him his Life. *Saturninus* caus'd him to be

Idem.  
Ibid.

stab'd at the breaking up of the Assembly; and *Glaucia*, with whom he had contriv'd this Murder, having called the People together again the next Morning early, his Adherents, in a riotous Manner, declared *Saturninus* elected, before any considerable Part of the People was yet arrived at the Place of Election.

These Three Men, now Masters of the whole Administration, contriv'd instantly how to undo *Metellus*. To succeed therein, *Saturninus*, as Tribune of the People, renew'd the ancient Quarrel about the sharing of Lands. But to give a new Life to a Faction almost extinct, he propos'd a new Object of their Animosity. *Marius* and *Catulus*, by the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, having recover'd some Lands in the *Gallia Cisalpina*, of which those *Barbarians* had taken Possession, he propos'd to share them among the poorest Citizens that dwell'd in the Country, most of them People without House or Home, whom *Marius* had made use of in that War, and were entirely devoted to him. To this Proposal he added a Clause, That, if the People approv'd of it, the Senate should be oblig'd within Five Days to pass it into a Law; That every Senator should be oblig'd to swear to it in the Temple of *Saturn*; and that whoever refus'd to take that Oath, should be expell'd the Senate, and condemn'd to a Fine of Twenty Talents. Then they notify'd the Day of Meeting. *Marius* sent privately to all those of his Party in the Country, desiring them to come thither in as great Bodies as possibly they could; and they came accordingly from all Parts of *Italy*. *Saturninus* flattered himself, that by their numerous Appearance he would make the Law pass. But the Citizens, who dwelt in *Rome*, jealous, and resenting that the Inhabitants of the Country were preferr'd to them, made an open and strong Opposition. This tumultuous Meeting divided  
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into Two Bodies. The Citizens finding themselves the weakest, that the Assembly might be dissolv'd, cried out, *That they had heard it Thunder*; which according to the Laws and Principles of their Religion, oblig'd 'em to suspend for that Day, all Deliberations and Affairs. But the Country People having amongst them some veteran Soldiers, most of 'em Men of Metal, disregarding that superstitious Custom, fell upon the Citizens with Stones and Sticks, drove them from the *Forum*, and then pass'd the Law.

*Marius*, who was secretly at the Bottom of all this, and the chief Manager of the Plot, call'd the Senate together, as being Consul, to deliberate upon the Oath prescrib'd by that Law, and which was now very haughtily demanded of every Senator. As he knew *Metellus* to be an upright Man, and firm in his Resolutions, he feign'd to draw him into the Snare, as if he detested so unjust a Law; which, he said, could have no other Aim, than to revive the ancient Seditions. He added, that for himself, he should never take an Oath so prejudicial to the Commonwealth. *Metellus*, as he had very well foreseen, did not fail to declare himself of his Opinion; and he was seconded by the Votes of the whole Senate.

*Marius* having drawn such a Declaration from a Man, whom he knew incapable of turning, called the Senate on the Fifth Day, as prescrib'd by that Law; and then he pull'd off the Mask. He said, that he had very seriously reflected on that great Affair; that there would infallibly happen a very great Tumult, if they persisted to refuse absolutely the taking of the proposed Oath; that every Thing was to be fear'd from the Fury and Resentment of that Multitude of unpolish'd and incens'd Men. But that to dazzle their Eyes, and to set 'em going out of *Rome* to their own Homes, he thought they might extricate themselves out of  
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the present Difficulty by means of an Oath, conceiv'd in dark and equivocal Terms; and that it was his Opinion, an Oath to that Law should be taken; but with this express Proviso, *If it was Law*. He added, That after those Country People should be return'd to their Habitations, it would be easy, in another less riotous Assembly, to demonstrate to the People of the City, that the Proposition of a Tribune, received only by Rioters, and in such Circumstances, as by Law and Religion made all Things done on such a Day, void, could not be look'd upon as Law.

The Hypocrite having thus varnished over his Breach of Faith, goes from the Senate House, attended by his whole Party, directly to the Temple of *Saturn*, and there takes the Oath pure and simple, without the Restriction he proposed himself. Those of his Party did the same, and the greatest Number of Senators, either through Weakness, or Fear of Banishment, follow'd his Example. *Metellus* alone courageously persisted in his former Opinion. And it was chiefly upon his Firmness that his Enemies had built and grounded their Hopes of effecting his Ruin. *Saturninus* appriz'd, that he had not taken the Oath in the Time prescrib'd by the Law, sends a Messenger to expel him the Senate. But the other Tribunes of the People, who were not of that Cabal, and who rever'd the Virtue of *Metellus*, unanimously opposed and prevented the Affront designed to be put on that great Man.

*Saturninus*, incens'd to find a Stop put to his Designs, sends for all those Country People back again to *Rome*. He summons the Assembly, gets up into the *Rostrum*, and after having inveighed strongly against *Metellus*, he declares to all that Populace, That they must never hope for their Shares of the Lands, nor the Execution of the Law concerning it, as long as *Metellus* shou'd abide in *Rome*.

*Rome.* Upon the Remonstrances of that Seditious Tribune, the Assembly condemn'd *Metellus* to Banishment, if that very Day he refus'd to take the Oath enacted by that Law. The Nobility, the whole Senate, and even the most noted among the People, offer'd to oppose this most unjust Decree of the Populace. Many out of Affection for the Person of *Metellus*, had even armed themselves secretly under their long Robes, and Town Habits. But that wise Senator, who truly loved his Country, after having in a tender manner returned them Thanks for the Love they had express'd for him, declar'd he wou'd never suffer that a single Drop of Blood shou'd be spill'd on his Account. And it is said, that after having resolv'd to go into Banishment, he shou'd say to his intimate Friends, to justify himself on Account of that Resolution; That either Peace and Quietness wou'd be restor'd in the Commonwealth, in which Case he did not doubt of his being recall'd; or that, if the Administration remain'd in such Hands as those of *Saturninus*, nothing cou'd be more advantageous to him, than to be at a Distance from *Rome*. He then went into Exile: His Virtue and great Character made him to be received in every Place he went through, as a Fellow-Citizen: He seem'd no Stranger in any Place: And having fix'd that of his Abode in the Isle of *Rhodes*, he there enjoy'd in a sweet Tranquillity, that natural Empire, which Virtue bestows without the Addition of Places and Dignities.

The Commonwealth fell a Prey to *Saturninus*, by the Retreat of *Metellus*. *Marinus*, to acknowledge the Services he had done him in this Affair, suffer'd him to exercise an open Tyranny in *Rome*. There was not any Liberty left at the Elections: Force carried every Thing. That furious Tribune, always accompanied with a Band of Assassins instead of Guards, got himself continued in the

*Fear of  
Rome,*  
654.



the Tribunate for the Third Time, and procured for his Colleague, a run-away Slave, named *L. Equilius Firmianus*, who call'd himself a Son of *Tiberius Gracchus*; he proceeded, at last to that Degree of Violence, that having resolv'd to raise *Glaucia*, the Accomplice of all his Crimes to the Consulship, he caus'd *Memmius*, an eminent *Patrician*, because he was *Glaucia's* Rival, to be beaten to Death by *P. Mettius*, one of his Guards.

This Murder caus'd the better Sort of People to take up Arms; even the Populace join'd the Senate; the Place of the Assembly was like a Field of Battel, where the Blood of the Citizens was spill'd with Impunity. *Saturninus*, *Glaucia*, *C. Sausenius*, then Quæstor, and their Party, finding themselves the weakest, seiz'd upon the Capitol. The Senate, by a publick Decree, proclaimed them Enemies to their Country, and order'd *Marius* to prosecute them as such. He was oblig'd to arm, but he did it so slowly, as made it apparent, it was much against his Inclination, that he obey'd the Orders of the Senate.

The People, well acquainted with his Inclination, and secret Intrigues, weary of his apparent Delays, for which he always pleaded some Excuse, and bearing with Uneasiness those Profligates to continue in the strongest Part of the Town, cut the Pipes that carried Water into the Capitol, and soon reduced those Riotors to a desperate Thirst. The greatest Part, rather than surrender, were for setting Fire to some Neighbouring Houses, in hopes they shou'd make their escape during the Confusion and Tumult that is common in such Accidents. But *Saturninus* and *Glaucia*, depending on their Intimacy with *Marius*, surrendered to him. He caus'd them to be confin'd in the Palace, as if he design'd to have brought them to a regular Tryal. But that House was to them rather a Place of Safety, than a Prison,

son, and he had set Guards upon them, less to prevent their running away, than to secure them against the Attempts of their Enemies.

These Precautions did not hinder the People, now work'd up into a violent Passion, to do themselves Justice. Part of them drives away the Guards, and surrounds the Place of their Confinement; others get upon the Top of the House, take down the Tiles, and with them and Stones kill *Saturninus*, *Glaucia*, *Saufeius*, and that Band of Profligates that had been secured there with them. Their Death was as the Signal for the Restoration of *Metellus*. His Relations, Friends, or rather the whole Senate, demanded his Repeal of the People in a Publick Assembly. All unanimously voted his Return, except one single Tribune call'd *Furius*, who had the Confidence to oppose the Wishes of all his Fellow-Citizens.

This Tribune was no better than the Son of a Freedman; but as he was invested with a Dignity which gave him the right of Opposition; the Friends of *Metellus* did all they could to prevail with him to wave it. Even the Son of *Metellus* threw himself down at his Feet, in the midst of the Assembly, and with Tears in his Eyes, conjur'd him to restore his Father to him, which was the Occasion of his bearing afterwards the Surname of *Metellus Pius*. But the Tribune, deaf to all Intreaties, rejected his Petition with a very harsh Usage. Luckily *C. Camuleius* was chosen Tribune of the People the next Year. That Plebeian Magistrate having a Respect for the great Merit of *Metellus*, not only took off this Opposition, but fell upon *Furius* himself, and impeach'd him that Moment before the People. He laid before them with a great deal of Rhetorick, his Inhumanity, and the ill Usage he had made of the Prerogatives of his Dignity. He urged, that to satisfy his private Passion, he had depriv'd his

Tear of  
Rome,  
654.

App. Alex.  
l. i. Cic.  
in Raber.

App. Alex.  
Ibid.

Country of one of the best Citizens in the whole Commonwealth. In short, he render'd his Colleague so odious, that the People, without so much as hearing his Defence, tore him immediately to Pieces. And the Tribunate, that sacred Magistracy, which had been established for no other End, than to protect and defend the Citizens, was violated in the Person of a Tribune, for having attempted to carry his Authority too far.

The Restoration of *Metellus*, meeting with no farther Obstacle, he returned to *Rome*. The whole City went out to meet him, and his Return was a real Triumph. The whole Day was not sufficient for receiving the Compliments of the Senate, and the Applauses of the People. Every Body thought they saw Justice, Peace, and Liberty, return with him. *Marius* alone, always jealous of his Glory, and not able either to hinder or to bear his Return, went out of *Rome*, and embark'd, under Pretence of going to *Asia*, to offer certain Sacrifices, which he had vow'd, as he said, to the Mother of the Gods, during the War with the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*. Besides the Presence of *Metellus*, which he shunn'd, and which seem'd to reproach him continually with Ungratefulness, there was a secret Motive which obliged him to quit *Rome*, and go as far as *Asia*. *Marius*, a great General, but of a rough Temper, and accusom'd to that absolute Authority which goes along with the Command of the Armies, did in a manner languish in peaceable Times, and even wanted those Talents which are necessary to gain Applause in a Commonwealth, where generally Men were advanced to the Administration by their Eloquence.

A War was necessary for him to regain his Credit. If we may believe *Plutarch*, the private Design of his Voyage was to kindle one in *Asia*, and especially to draw the *Romans* into a Declaration of

of War against *Mithridates*, the most powerful King in all the *East*, who was suspected of entering into Leagues, and making Preparations against the *Romans*. *Marius* wou'd have been wonderfully glad of effecting his Design, not doubting but he shou'd have the Command of the Forces employ'd in that War, gain new Victories, and enrich his Family with the Spoils of the *East*.

It is said, that being at the Court of that great Prince, and having made him some Overtures in the Name of the Senate, to sound his Intentions, when he found that *Mithridates* did not answer directly to the Point; *It is necessary*, *Mithridates*, Plut. in Mario. said he, *either that you find a way to become more powerful than the Romans, or submit to the Law of the strongest.* The King of *Pontus*, the proudest Prince of his Time, and used to the slavish Language commonly spoke in King's Palaces, seem'd surpriz'd at the Discourse of that bold Commonwealths Man: But as he was no less a Politician than a great General, and that his Preparations were not yet compleat, he concealed his Displeasure, and sent *Marius* away loaded with Presents.

That *Roman*, after having visited Part of *Asia*, returned to *Rome*, where he found but few Friends, and yet less Credit. His harsh and haughty Manners were not becoming in a free State, where every body thinks himself very near upon the Level with the best, and where the great Ones acquire and preserve their Creatures only by their Caresses and good Offices. He met with the Fate of most great Warriors, who live to be old in a Peace of long Continuance; that is to say, his Victories were forgot; and he was look'd upon, says *Plutarch*, at best, like those old Weapons, covered all over with Rust, and laid by as useless for the future. Besides, there was a new Race of younger Generals, who had engross'd all the Favour of the Publick; and among those of the *Patrician* Or-

der the most taken Notice of, *Sylla*, whom we have mention'd before, held the first Rank.

We have seen how dextrously that *Patrician* had at once put an end to the *Numidian* War, by obliging *Bocchus* to deliver *Jugurtha* up to him. It was with the same Ability, that whilst the *Romans* had their Hands full with the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, he hinder'd the *Marsi* (a Nation inhabiting that Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*, now called *Abruzzo*) from declaring for those *Barbarians*. No Body, next to *Marius*, whose Lieutenant he was, had a greater Share in the Defeat of the *Cimbri*, one of whose Kings he took Prisoner himself.

*Marius*, jealous of all Sorts of Merit, but chiefly of the Characters built on the Fame of Warlike Exploits, forc'd *Sylla*, by repeated ill Usage, to quit the Service. *Catulus*, who knew his Valour and Capacity, offer'd him in his Army the same Post he had enjoy'd in that of *Marius*, with the additional Promise of reposing an entire Confidence in him. *Sylla*, full of Fire, Action, and Courage, was a great help to him in all the Parts that are particularly the Generals: And as *Catulus* was old and slow, every Thing fell upon *Sylla*. He it was that regulated the Marches, Incampments, Detachments of Parties, and took Care to supply the Army with Provisions. Nothing was out of his Way. And whilst *Marius* wanted Necessaries in his Camp, there was so great an abundance in that of *Catulus*, that his Soldiers bestow'd Quantities very liberally on those of his Colleague. It is said, that *Marius* conceived so great a Jealousy thereat, that he look'd on that Generosity as an indirect Method of seducing his Soldiers, and that it was one of the Motives that kindled afterwards that Hatred, the Consequences whereof were so fatal to the Commonwealth. That Hatred began to show it self on Occasion of some

some Representation of the Victory by Figures, and of certain golden Images, which *Bocchus* consecrated in the Capitol. Those Images described the manner in which he had deliver'd *Jugurtha* into the Hands of *Sylla*. *Marius* attempted to carry off those Monuments, because they seem'd to attribute to his Questor, who was but an inferior Officer, all the Glory of an Event, which had happen'd during his Consulship. *Sylla*, on his Side, oppos'd it with all his Credit, and an insuperable Firmness. They very near came to Blows, and this at a Time, when every Thing at *Rome* was carried by mere Force and Violence. Every Body took Party according to his Interest or Inclination; all *Rome* was divided; and a Matter of so little Moment, maintain'd on both Sides by Two proud and haughty Men, who hated each other, reviv'd that Antipathy between the Nobility and People, which deriv'd its Beginning almost from the very Foundation of the Commonwealth. Cabals and Factions were form'd; each call'd upon his Friends and Dependants to assist him. In short, the City was in that turbulent Motion, which is commonly a Fore-runner of a Civil War, when the Death of *Livius Drusus* occasion'd the *Social War*, that suspended all those Domestick Strifes.

It may not be amiss here to explain, in what manner this Foreign War took its Birth within *Rome* it self, and afterwards spread all over *Italy*. The *Romans* were wont to vary their Forms of Government according to the Temper and Customs of the different Nations that were subject to them. The Citizens, whether they dwelt in *Rome*, or in any Part of the Country, being registred in the Rolls of their Tribe, gave their Names in to the Censors, those of their Children, their Slaves, as also a Valuation of their Estates; upon which the Taxes they were to pay were regulated. None

but Citizens were allowed to list in those invincible Legions, which made *Rome* the Mistress of the World. They chose their Commanders, and their Magistrates. They voted for Peace, or for War; and the Right of Voting being attach'd to the Quality of each *Roman* Citizen, made every one a Sharer in the Sovereignty of the State. The several Nations of *Latium* had either submitted themselves to the Commonwealth, or had been conquer'd and subdued by Force of Arms. They were oblig'd to pay the Taxes that were impos'd on them; and furnish'd in Times of War, such a Number of Horse and Foot, as were demanded of them. In other Matters, though in some Respect they made a Part of the Commonwealth, and help'd to bear the Charges of it; yet were they not admitted to Dignities, nor had they any Right of Voting. It is true, that in dangerous Times, in order to bind them the faster to the Interests of the Commonwealth, some Indulgence was shewn them in those Points; as was particularly done at the Time of the Second *Punick* War; lest those different Nations, which all together and united, made the greatest Strength of the Commonwealth, should be debauch'd by *Hannibal*, full as much skill'd in bringing about such a Defection, as he was to be dreaded in the Field. But as soon as the Danger was over, the *Romans* omitted no Means to make them sensible, that those Concessions had been design'd only as occasional Favours, from which they were not for the future to claim any Right. However, every City in *Latium* was govern'd by one of her own Citizens, elected by a Majority; who, under the Title of *Prætor*, administred Justice to them: And that *Prætor*, after the Expiration of his Office, was registred as a *Roman* Citizen. That Office conferr'd on him the Privileges of Nobility; and this Prerogative distinguished that State from all other Coun-

Countries, which were call'd *Provinces* of the Commonwealth; to which a Prætor was sent from *Rome*, to administer Justice, and a Quæstor, to levy the Taxes.

These Nations in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, as we observ'd before, had long demanded the Right and Name of *Roman* Citizens. They remonstrated, That they paid considerable Taxes: That in War Time, their Country alone rais'd double the Number of Forces, to what *Rome* and its Territories did: That the Commonwealth ow'd partly to their Valour, that prodigious Power to which it was risen: And that it was but just, they should share the Honours of a State, whose Empire they had enlarged by their Arms. We have seen above, in what manner *Caius Gracchus* perish'd, for having endeavour'd to obtain that Right of *Roman* Citizens for the *Latins*. The Senate and Nobles oppos'd him; pretending it was not just to make those their Equals and Fellow-Citizens, who were in Reality Subjects of the Commonwealth. But the true Motive of their Opposition was, that they could not bear any body should go about to render the Party of the People stronger, by making it more numerous with these Associates. The Death of *Caius* did not frighten *Drusus*, because he flatter'd himself with Success, if he took another Method, by seeking to make himself the Mediator betwixt the Two Parties: A Design, in Truth, very commendable; but as much beyond his Capacity, as his Credit. It was to render himself agreeable to both, that he propos'd, during his Second Tribunate, to restore to the Senate the Right of enquiring into the Crimes of Extortion, which had been conferr'd on the Equestrian Order; and to make that Order Amends, by letting into the Senate Three Hundred of 'em: And by Favour of those Two Laws, he endeavour'd to get those of *Caius Gracchus* to pass,



pass, relating to the Division of Lands, and the Right of Citizens in Behalf of the *Latins*.

Tit. Liv.

l. 71.

App. l. 1.

Orof. L. 5.

c. 18.

Autor de

Viris il-

lustr. c. 66.

Cic. in

Cluent.

But he found the Senators and the Knights equally averse to those Proposals. The Senate seem'd to resent, that a Tribune should offer to thrust into that August Assembly Three Hundred Knights, who must carry all before 'em by their Numbers: And those of the Knights, who had Reason to fear they should not be of the Three Hundred design'd for Senators, would not consent that their Body should be depriv'd of a Jurisdiction and a Tribunal, which made them very considerable in *Rome*. So that these Two Orders, though otherwise divided in their Interests, yet agreed to reject the Laws propos'd by *Drusus*. He met still with a stronger Opposition about the Laws of *Caius*, which he design'd to renew. The very Name of *Agrarian* Laws stirr'd up the Resentment of those, who were possess'd of Estates in Conquer'd Lands: And the great Men of *Rome*, accustomed to that Empire they exercis'd over the Nations subjected to the Commonwealth, could never forgive *Drusus* the Attempt of making those their Fellow-Citizens, whom they always look'd upon as their Subjects. Such opposite Interests gave Birth to continual Disputes in all their Assemblies: And as every Thing there was carried less by the Rules of Equity, than by the Strength and Credit of each Party; a great Body of *Latins* was come to *Rome*, to support their Protector: But that avail'd him not; he could not escape the Fury of his Opposers. Surrounded by a Multitude of People that were about his Tribunal, which he had caus'd to be plac'd in a dark Gallery in his House, he was stabb'd in the Side with a Knife, which the Murderer left in the Wound, and of which he died. It was impossible to discover who gave the Blow, he being lost in the Crowd: But *Quintius Varius*, Tribune of the People, made himself suspected,

pected, by a Law which he propos'd some Time after the Death of *Drusus*. That Law declar'd Traytors, and Enemies of the State, all such as should propose again to grant the Prerogative of Citizens to Strangers, or Nations of *Italy*, that were Subjects of the Commonwealth.

The Death of *Drusus*, murder'd in his Tribunal, Year of Rome, 663. for having attempted to procure the Right of Citizens to those Nations, gave Birth to that War which was called *Sociale*, or of the Confederates. App. l. 1. Vell. l. 2. Plin. l. 2. c. 83. Those Nations, enraged to see themselves frustrated of their Hopes and Pretensions, by the Murder of their Protector, resolv'd to obtain their Ends by Force of Arms. The principal Cities first sent Deputies to each other privately, to communicate their Resentment. Next, they sign'd a League, and gave each other mutual Hostages. Every District made a Provision of Arms and Horses: Soldiers were lifted; Generals appointed. *T. Afranius*, *P. Ventidius*, *M. Egnatius*, and *Vetius Cato*, all Officers of a great Name, were to command different Bodies. But before they began any Acts of Hostility, they sent Deputies to *Rome*, demanding, in the Name of all the Nations in *Italy*, that were either Allies, or Dependants on the Commonwealth, To be received into the Number of *Roman* Citizens.

The Senate, equally inform'd of their Pretensions, and of their Forces, peremptorily refus'd to hear their Deputies; and Word was sent 'em, That they shou'd have no Audience, till those that sent 'em had departed from the Confederacy they had lately sign'd: And they were dismiss'd with this Answer.

The Confederates, upon the Return of their Deputies, took up Arms every where at the same Time. At once was seen in the Heart of *Italy* an Army of an Hundred Thousand Men, all in Conspiracy against *Rome*: And what render'd those

those Forces formidable, was, That they were commanded by Excellent Generals, who had been bred and train'd up in the *Roman* Armies and Discipline.

*Year of  
Rome,  
663.*

The Senate, on its Part, arm'd with uncommon Speed, and rais'd a greater Number of Legions than usual. *Sextus Julius Caesar*, and *P. Rutilius Lupus*, both Consuls this Year, took the Field, and headed each an Army. They had for Lieutenants, *C. Marius*, *Cn. Pompeius*, *Cornelius Sylla*, and *Licinius Crassus*; who bore the Character of being the ablest Generals of the *Roman* State, and who had all of 'em commanded Armies as Consuls and Generals. But the Love of their Country was the Cause that those very Men, who had commanded in Chief during one Year, did not disdain to serve the following in the same Armies as Lieutenants. To them the Title of Proconsuls was given; and though always dependent on the Two Consuls, and their Directions, yet they commanded separate Bodies, because of the many Places where they had Enemies to oppose.

Never had the Commonwealth so many different Armies, at the same Time, in *Italy* before. For fear of a Surprise, Guards were quarter'd at all the Gates and Avenues of *Rome*, during a War, wherein the Soldiery of the Two opposite Parties was dress'd in the same Manner, spoke the same Language, and knew each other; so that it was not easy to distinguish between the Citizen and the Enemy. Many were the bloody Rencounters, Battels, and Cities taken. Fortune often changed Sides, which weaken'd each of them by Turns, without abating any Thing of their Fierceness and Fury. At last the Senate observing, that even the Victories gain'd by the Commonwealth were fatal and destructive, and that by destroying its Allies, it lost so many brave Soldiers, who before fought its Battels; that wise Body thought fit to abate  
of

of its Firmness, yet gave way but gradually, by little and little, that they might still keep up the Dignity of the *Roman* Name; and also, by that Method, to sow Divisions among the Allies. That Right and Prerogative of Citizens, which had occasion'd this War, was at first granted only to the nearest Neighbours of *Rome*, or such as had not taken up Arms, or offered the first to lay them down. This Conduct allay'd the Fire of the Enemies: The Confederates distrusting each other, hasten'd to make their separate Peace: And the *Romans*, on their Side, thought it became their Greatness better, to abate of their Demands in Behalf of a divided and weaken'd Enemy, than to have given way to the entire Body of the Confederacy, even when it was in its greatest Strength. At last all these several Nations successively obtain'd the Right of Citizens of *Rome*, except the *Lucanians* and *Samnites*, their Neighbours, a fierce and courageous People, jealous, and Enemies of *Rome's* Greatness, and who maintain'd the War some Time longer; though it was more an Effect of their Inveteracy, than an Argument of their Strength. Although the Senate had granted that Prerogative to the Neighbours of *Rome*, they almost reduc'd it to nothing by the Manner and Articles of the Convention. For instead of distributing that Multitude of new Citizens into the old Five and Thirty Tribes, where by their Numbers, they would have been Masters of almost all Deliberations; the Senate very dextrously, and with their own Consent, made Eight new Tribes of them all. And as by their Creation, they were always the last that gave their Votes; there was no need of counting them, when the old Tribes did agree. So that this Right of Burghership, which had cost the Confederates so much Blood, was to them scarce any Thing but an empty Title, without Authority, and without Business.

It was not long before they were sensible, that they had been put all together under the Eight last Tribes, with no other View, than to render their Votes useless. The Senate however flatter'd themselves, that by this Stratagem they had restor'd Peace to *Italy*, and thought of making War in the *East*; when the Jealousy betwixt the Great occasion'd a Civil War to ensue immediately upon that of the Confederates. *Marius*, upwards of Seventy Years Old, had not maintain'd in this War, that great Reputation, which he had acquir'd in that against the *Teutones* and *Cimbri*; whether because of the Heaviness and Slowness concomitant to old Age, or that Fortune had not thrown Occasions of signalizing himself in his way, cannot be known: For he had even kept himself almost all along upon the Defensive. *Sylla*, on the contrary, lively, active and impetuous, had gain'd great Battels, taken considerable Towns, and had distinguish'd himself throughout this War by so many and glorious Successes, that immediately upon the Peace, he had the Consulate conferr'd on him, as the first Reward of his Deserts. He was afterwards declar'd Governor of *Asia Minor*, and Commander in Chief in the War against *Mithridates*; the mightiest Prince of all the *East*, a great General; but unjust, cruel, bloody, as most Conquerors are, and whose Empire was mostly made up of States usurp'd from his Neighbours. His Forces were proportion'd to his Designs and Ambition. They reckon'd in his Armies no less than Two Hundred and Fifty Thousand Foot, Fifty Thousand Horse, and an infinite Number of arm'd Chariots: And his Sea-Ports contain'd more than Four Hundred Ships of War. Able Generals were at the Head of those different Bodies; but he himself was still the prime Director of the whole: And where he did not command in Person, he alone directed their Operations. He had made him-

*Text of  
Rome, ..  
465.*

himself Master of *Cappadocia* and *Bitthia*, which he had conquer'd from *Ariobarzanes* and *Nicomedes*, the Sovereigns of those Kingdoms, who were Allies of the *Roman State*. All *Thracia*, *Macedonia*, *Greece*, *Athens*, most of the *Cyclades*, had undergone the same Fate. And the Senate having sent to him, to desire he would withdraw his Forces from all those Provinces which were under the Protection of the Commonwealth; that Prince, to shew he fear'd neither their Power nor Resentment, caus'd in One Day above One Hundred and Fifty Thousand *Romans* to be murder'd, most of 'em Merchants; who, trusting to the Peace, had settled and traded in the *East*, and in the principal Towns of *Greece*. He threaten'd *Rome* it self, and all *Italy*, with the Power of his Arms, when *Sylla* was named to have the Direction of the War against him.

*Marius*, whose Ambition was yet like that of a young Man, and who (as we have seen) aim'd at that Command, look'd on this Preference as an Injustice done to him. It seem'd as if all the Preferments of the Commonwealth did of Right belong to him. He resolv'd to carry that, of making War upon *Mithridates*, from *Sylla*. He brought over to his Interest a Tribune, call'd *P. Sulpitius*, an inveterate Enemy to *Sylla*; a great Orator, a bold and enterprizing Man; who, besides, was much regarded in *Rome*, upon Account of his great Riches, and of his vast Number of Clients; and yet more fear'd for the Mischief he cou'd do, and the Credit his Office gave him.

These Two Men, united in the common Hatred they bore to *Sylla*, and to the Body of the Nobility, agreed, before they declar'd themselves, to try to strengthen their Party. To succeed herein, *Sulpitius*, who had discover'd how much the Confederates were dissatisfied to see themselves rank'd in the Eight Lowermost Tribes of the Commonwealth;

wealth; propos'd in their Behalf to suppress those Eight Tribes, and to incorporate afterwards all those *Italians* that compos'd them, into the Five and Thirty Ancient Tribes. He promis'd himself from their great Numbers, to become Master of all publick Resolutions. The ancient Citizens, instructed by the Senate, soon perceiv'd, that if these new Tribes were let in amongst 'em, the Strangers, who were but lately admitted among the Citizens by Favour, would insensibly ruin the Credit of those very Men, who had conferr'd that Favour on them. Those Considerations determin'd them to oppose the Publication of that Law. The Tribune, on his Side, supported by those new Citizens, whom he on purpose sent for to *Rome*, was resolv'd to make it pass by main Force. The Two Parties came to Blows; and there were a great Number of Citizens kill'd on both Sides during the Contest. The Night coming on, parted the Assembly, before any Thing was decided.

The Consuls, to distance the Day of another Assembly, proclaim'd Holy-Days upon different Pretences; during which, it was forbidden to do any Business. *Sulpitius*, without any Regard to those Holy-Days, summon'd the People. He came there himself, at the Head of Six Hundred of his Party, with Arms under their Gowns; a Sort of Guards that every where attended him, and which he us'd to call the *Anti-Senate*. He sent to the Two Consuls, summoning them to come to the Assembly, and instantly to revoke the Holy-Days which they had proclaim'd; that the People might be at Liberty to give their Votes about the abrogating the Eight Tribes, as he had propos'd in the last Meeting.

This Discourse rais'd a great Commotion betwixt the old and new Citizens. Those of *Sulpitius* his Side drew their Swords, and fell on the People, who

run

run away; and the Son of *Q. Pompeius*, Son-in-Law to *Sylla*, was kill'd, as he was succouring his Father. *Pompeius* hid himself in the Throng: *Sylla* pursu'd, fled into the very House of *Marinus*, having found the Door open. *Marius*, though naturally cruel and revengeful, forbore killing a Man who had taken Refuge in his House: He saved his Life, But to keep it, he was oblig'd to return to the Assembly, and to declare, That he abolish'd and repeal'd the Holy-Days. He then withdrew himself from thence; and not thinking himself any longer safe in *Rome*, where the opposite Party prevail'd, he quitted the City instantly, and made haste to put himself at the Head of those Troops which he had commanded in the Confederate War, and which were to march under his Command into the *East*, against *Mithridates*. The Holy-Days being repeal'd, and both the Consuls fled; *Sulpitius*, now Master and Absolute in *Rome*, got without any Difficulty the Law to pass, that had been the Occasion of the Tumult: And by the same Law, he took from *Sylla* the Command of the Army abovemention'd, causing the People to Commission *Marius* in his Stead.

That General sent immediately some Officers of his Party, to take Possession of the Command till he could go himself: But *Sylla* had prevented them, as we have related. He had drawn over all the Soldiers to his Interest; giving them Hopes of enriching them with the Spoils of the *East*; so that instead of obeying the Orders that came from *Marius*, they kill'd his Officers, and besought *Sylla* to lead them against his Enemies at *Rome*, before he transported them to *Asia*. *Marius*, incens'd at the Death of his Officers, us'd Reprisals; caus'd several of *Sylla*'s Friends to be put to Death, and their Houses to be plunder'd. Which oblig'd others hastily to quit *Rome*, and seek a Refuge in *Sylla*'s Camp. These Massacres determin'd the latter

Plut. in  
Sylla.Idem App.  
ibid.Plut. in  
Sylla.



latter to march strait to *Rome*. He was at the Head of Six Legions; whose Soldiers, animated with his Spirit, fought nothing but Revenge and Plunder. But several Officers, averse to turn their Arms against their own Country, quitted the Service; so that nothing was seen on the Roads, but People flying from the City to the Camp, to escape *Marius's* Cruelty; and on the other Hand, People that were going from the Camp to *Rome*, to avoid taking either Side in this Civil War. In the mean Time, *Sylla* was still approaching; and he was met on the way by *Q. Pompeius*, his Colleague in the Consulship, who join'd him.

*Marius* and *Sulpitius*, who had no Army to oppose him, interpos'd the Authority of the Magistracy, and sent to him *Brutus* and *Servilius*, both Prætors, with their Adherents; who very haughtily commanded *Sylla* to stop his March. His Soldiers incens'd at the Manner in which those Two Prætors had spoke to their General, broke the Fasces and Axes, which the Lictors were wont to carry before those Magistrates. They fell upon them, tore their Purple Gowns; and had certainly kill'd them, if *Sylla* had not prevented it.

The Condition those Two Magistrates were in, when they return'd into *Rome*, made them sensible, that all Respect for the Laws was laid aside, and that Violence and superior Power was henceforth to determine all Things. *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, who knew themselves in no Condition to resist a potent and incens'd Enemy, dispatch'd to him, in the Name of the Senate, some new Deputies to endeavour at least to retard his March. Those Deputies intreated the Two Consuls to suspend their Anger and Resentment, and not to bring their Army nearer to *Rome* than about Five Miles; telling them, that while their Troops were refreshing themselves, the Senate was in hopes of  
bring-

bringing Matters to an Accommodation, and giving them full Satisfaction.

The Two Consuls easily perceiving, that they were amused only to give Time to *Marius* to raise Forces, in order to deceive the Deputies, made as if they accepted their Proposals. *Sylla*, in their Presence, commanded his Officers to mark out a Camp, and to appoint Quarters in the Neighbourhood they were in. But no sooner were the Deputies gone, but he sent all his Horse at their Heels, and soon began his March with his whole Army, arriving before the Gates of *Rome*, when his Enemies believ'd him very quiet in his Camp. His Forces entred the City Sword in Hand, as they wou'd have done a Town taken from an Enemy by Storm. *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, though surprized, opposed their Passage with a Body of their Party that had join'd them; and the People, fearing the Town shou'd be plunder'd, declar'd in their Favour, and threw Darts and Stones from the Tops of the Houses on *Sylla's* Soldiers. But that General having threatned to set Fire to them, and taken a Torch in his own Hand, the People discontinued those Acts of Hostility, and remain'd Spectators of the Fight betwixt the Two Parties. In vain did *Marius* and *Sulpitius* call them to their Aid, though they promised Liberty to such Slaves as shou'd arm in their Defence, no Body offer'd to stir; and *Sylla's* Forces still gaining Ground, drove them to the Temple of the Goddess *Tellus*, whence they were obliged to fly and quit *Rome*. *Sylla* seeing himself Master of the City, posted Guards in all the open Places, to prevent Disorder. He even caused some of his Soldiers to be punish'd severely, for having entred some Houses to plunder them; and he was himself busy all Night in visiting the different Quarters, to restrain the Soldiers, commonly insolent upon a Victory, and to prevent the Citizens being abused.

The Two Consuls having employ'd the whole Night in providing for the publick Safety, their next Care in the Morning, was to get their Conduct, though very extraordinary, approv'd and authoriz'd by some new Laws, and to cloath themselves, at least outwardly, with some show of Right, which seldom fails those who have the Power in their Hands. To obtain this, they form'd the Design of raising anew the Authority of the Senate, which the Tribunes of the People had much impair'd by that infinite Number of new Laws made to favour the People, most of which had been Enacted by seditious Men, and an arm'd Force. With that View they summon'd an Assembly of the *Roman* People. *Sylla*, naturally a good Orator, deplored the Calamities of the Commonwealth, in Terms no less moving than lively. He represented to the Assembly, that the Differences which for so long a Time had disturb'd the City, and the State, proceeded only from the mutinous and turbulent Spirit of the Tribunes, who, to make themselves considerable, omitted nothing that cou'd provoke the Hatred of the People against the Senate. That those Popular Magistrates, who had been instituted in the Beginning with no other View, than to prevent Violence which shou'd be offer'd to any *Roman* Citizen, had imperceivably, and under different Colours, render'd themselves absolute Masters of the whole Administration. That by new Laws, unknown to their Ancestors, they had found the Secret to reduce to nothing the Authority of the Consuls, and the Dignity of the Senate. That to cause those Innovations and Encroachments, which they cover'd over with the plausible Name of Laws, to be tolerated, they had in the Election of Magistrates, abolish'd the Custom, establish'd from all Times, of taking the Votes by Centuries; and in the room of that ancient Method, had substituted that

that of collecting the Votes by Tribes, and chiefly in the Elections for Tribunes of the People. That by this Change, wherein the Votes of the Nobles, and the Rich, were confounded with those of the Poor, instead of being told by Centuries, the Populace was become the Masters of all Elections, and that their Choice most commonly fell upon seditious Men, rather than People of good Characters. That to root out Abuses so pernicious to the Quiet of the Commonwealth, it was his Opinion, That for the future it shou'd not be allow'd, that any body of what Condition soever, shou'd propose to the People any Law, that had not been before approved by the Senate. Lastly, That in Elections Votes shou'd no longer be taken but by Classes, which were a sort of Rolls, in which all the Citizens were divided by Centuries, according to their Estates and Rank; but the first whereof, consisting of the richest, contain'd alone more Centuries than all the other Classes put together; which rendred that first Class, when all its Centuries agreed, the Arbiters of all Deliberations. *Sylla* added, That it was needful to forbid the Tribunes making those continual Speeches, which were so many Trumpets of Sedition; and that to reduce within just Bounds, the tameless Ambition of those Popular Magistrates, it was necessary to enact a solemn Law, that shou'd pronounce every Citizen, who had bore the Tribunate, incapable of any other Magistracy for the future.

These Proposals, coming from a Man who was at the Head of Six Legions, and Master of *Rome*, soon acquired the Form of so many Laws. No body durst oppose him; all gave Way to his Authority; and *Rome*, under his Consulate, assumed as it were a new Face. After he had establish'd his Authority on a solid Foundation, he gave his Mind to the revenging his private Injuries. We have before said, that *Marius*, with the Agreement

Ap. Alex.  
L. 1. de  
bello civ.

of *Sulpitius* the Tribune, had caus'd the Command of the Army against *Mithridates* to be conferr'd on him. *Sylla* got that Decree repeal'd, and at the same Time that Law revok'd, which *Sulpitius* had published, and by which he had admitted the Confederates into the Five and Thirty old Tribes. All that had happen'd then was ascribed to Compulsion and Violence, whilst he, that complain'd of it, was in a manner holding a Dagger at the Throat of his Fellow-Citizens. Next to this, Articles of Impeachment were drawn up against *C. Marius*, young *Marius* his Son, Twelve Senators the chief of their Party, and the Tribune *Sulpitius*; for having been the Authors of the last Insurrection. They were absent, and their Accuser was the Man who then commanded in Rome with an absolute Authority; so that they were soon judged. They were declared Enemies of the Roman State: Rewards were set upon their Heads. They were interdicted Water and Fire, which comprehends in that Roman Judiciary Stile, all manner of Subsistence and Assistance from any Body; and the Decree of the Senate was proclaimed in Rome, and in all the Provinces of the Roman State by sound of Trumpet, ordaining they shou'd every where be prosecuted at the Publick Charge; and be put to Death wherever they cou'd be found. *Sylla* did at the same Time detach some Troops on all Sides to hunt them down. *Marius* however escaped their Diligence; but the Tribune *Sulpitius* was found by some of *Sylla's* Horse in the Moors of *Laurentum*. His Head being cut off, was carried to Rome, and nail'd to the *Rostrum*. That terrible Sight was an Omen of all the Blood that the Ambition and Hatred of *Marius* and *Sylla* did afterwards spill in Rome, and the whole Roman State.

The People could not behold the Head of one of their Magistrates, nail'd on his own Tribunal, without

without a secret Indignation. And even the Senate murmur'd at the Proscription of *C. Marius*, and the other Senators of his Party, although they were very well pleas'd to see the *Plebeians* humbled. Most of the Senators, jealous of the Honour and Dignity of their Body, cou'd not bear, that their Colleagues shou'd be proscrib'd in the same ignominious Manner as is usual against Thieves and Vagabonds. Some privately reproach'd *Sylla*, that he sought the Death of a Man more generous than himself; and that if *Marius* had deliver'd him up to those that pursued him, when he took Refuge in his House, he had by his Death been himself Master of the Administration. Such Discourses afterwards repeated by many, in different Companies, alienated the Minds of all from the Person of *Sylla*. He experienc'd it at the Election of certain Magistrates, where *Nornius* his Nephew, and *Servius*, lost their Election, for no other Reason, than that the People knew them to be Creatures of *Sylla*. He, instead of showing himself angry thereat, affected to make himself a Merit of it. He told his Friends, that the little Respect which the People had shown for his Recommendation, was a certain Proof that *Rome* enjoy'd a perfect Liberty under his Consulship; and to maintain the same Character still, he suffer'd that *Cinna*, of his own Family indeed, but of a contrary Party, shou'd be Elected Consul the Year following, who soon gave him Cause to repent that feign'd Moderation, as much contrary to his Humour, as it was to his Interest.

*Year of  
Rome,  
666.*

*Cornelius Cinna*, though of a *Patrician* Family, had devoted himself to the *Plebeian* Party, where he hoped to be taken more Notice of than among the Nobility, who abounded in great Generals, and able Magistrates. He was a Man without Thought, and of deprav'd Manners, precipitate in his Undertakings. Yet, as daring and incon-

siderate as he was in his Engagements, he maintain'd them with a Courage and Greatness of Soul worthy of a better Citizen. He was no sooner entred into his Function, but he boasted insolently he wou'd get all the Laws made by *Sylla* repeal'd. He even obliquely attack'd him self; and to try his Credit, and the Disposition of the People, he hazarded *Virginius*, one of his Creatures, who had the Boldness to impeach *Sylla*. But that great Man slighting equally the Meanness of the Accuser, and the Levity of him that set him to Work, without vouchsafing so much as to give an Answer to what was alledg'd against him, left both his Judges and the Cause, and set out from *Rome* for his Army, to make War against *Mithridates*.

He flatter'd himself, that his Party wou'd always be powerful enough to keep the new Consul in awe, he being a Man of no great Esteem, and hated besides for his haughty and violent Proceedings. But Time convinc'd him, that in Domestic Strifes, and Civil Wars, one ought neither to rely too much on his best Friends, nor slight the least Enemy. *Cinna* himself indeed had not Credit sufficient to make a new Change in the Government; but he had Friends, Men of greater Capacity than himself, who made him sensible, that, in order to maintain himself against *Sylla*, he ought to recal *Marius*, and oppose that great General, so famous by his Victories, to *Sylla*. To effect this, it was necessary to get the Decree of his Proscription revers'd. But the cancelling of so solemn a Judgment seem'd almost impossible, because of the strong Party that *Sylla* had left in *Rome*. *Cinna*, to balance their Credit, and to make sure of the greatest Number of Votes, undertook to gain the Confederates to his Side.

We have said above, how artfully the Senate had, as it were, banish'd them into the Eight lowest

lowest Tribes, that their Votes might never be of any Weight : We have seen likewise, how *Marius* and *Sulpitius*, with a contrary View, had incorporated them into the Five and Thirty old Tribes ; but that *Sylla* had again put Things upon the former Foot : *Cinna* resolv'd to revive the Law in favour of them. To succeed therein, he sent them Word underhand they shou'd come in as great Numbers as ever they cou'd, and with Swords under their Gowns, on the first Day that the People shou'd meet. All this was executed as he desired ; and at the Day of Meeting, the Forum was crowded with such a prodigious Number of those Confederates, that it was even difficult for the Inhabitants of *Rome* to come near it. *Cinna* got up himself into the *Rostrum*, and in a studied Speech represented to the Assembly, That the *Latins* and *Italians*, being the same Nation with the *Romans*, speaking the same Language, living under Laws very near alike, and exposing daily their Lives to maintain the Glory and Interests of the Commonwealth ; it was but just to form but one Body and one State, of all the different Nations in *Italy*. That to render that Union compleat, the Eight youngest Tribes ought to be suppress'd, and the new Citizens placed in the old Tribes, as Chance shou'd determine it. That it was the only Way to maintain Peace and Union in the different Orders of the State, to increase their Strength, and make them dreaded by all the Enemies of the Roman Name.

Vell. Pat.  
terc. l. 2.  
c. 20.

This Speech of the Consul was receiv'd with great Applauses by the Confederates. They loudly, and with great Cries, demanded a Poll about the passing that Law. But the ancient Citizens, incens'd to see a *Patrician*, and a Consul too, act the Part of a seditious Tribune of the People, did openly oppose the passing of the Law. " It ought to be sufficient (said they) for those Strangers

Ap. Alex.  
l. 2. c. 15.

" to





“ to be Associates of the *Roman* Name, to partake  
 “ of its Rights and Privileges, and to see them-  
 “ selves now, from Subjects they were formerly,  
 “ become Citizens of *Rome*, without pretending  
 “ to thrust themselves violently into our own  
 “ Tribes, to outvote us by their Numbers.

This Contrariety of Opinion, and of Parties, occasion'd Disputes, which soon grew up into Invectives and Feuds, when the Confederates, drawing their Swords, which they had hid under their Gowns, fell on the ancient Citizens, and forc'd them to fly and quit the Place. Most run to the Senate to complain, and address'd themselves to *Octavius*, *Cinna's* Colleague in the Consulate, a Friend to *Sylla*, and openly of his Party. This Consul, who had foreseen the Designs of his Colleague, under Pretence of maintaining Peace in the City, had always a considerable Number of his Party armed near him. He no sooner heard what had happen'd in the *Forum*, but he run thither at the Head of *Sylla's* Party. He march'd through the People, who open'd him a Passage, as much out of Respect for his Dignity, as Fear of the great Number of Arm'd People that follow'd him. *Octavius*, without regarding any body, falls upon the *Latins*, drives them before him, dissipates and puts the Multitude to Flight. The Inhabitants of *Rome* take up Arms, attack the Confederates dispers'd in several Streets, pursue them close Sword in Hand, and at last oblige them to leave the City.

*Cinna* seeing himself abandon'd by them, runs all over the Town to rally those of his Party, and he invites the very Slaves to join him, promising Liberty to as many as should take Arms in his Behalf. The First Magistrate of the Commonwealth, whose chief Office was to maintain Peace, omits nothing to stir up a Sedition. But no body was mov'd by his Threats or Promises.

After

After having made impotent and useless Efforts, he was oblig'd to give way to the opposite Party. He quitted *Rome*, and went to join that Heap of *Italians* which came there upon his Invitation. He went successively to all their Towns in great Haste; to *Tibur*, *Praneste*, *Nola*, and every where animated them to take up Arms, and revenge themselves on the *Romans*. He was seconded by *C. Melonius*, *C. Marius Gratidianus*, but chiefly by *Quintius Sertorius*, an excellent General, who had join'd that Party to be reveng'd of *Sylla's*, for having made him lose his Election, when he stood for the Tribuneship. These Senators, by their Intrigues, stirred up the Resentment of the Confederates. The War was resolv'd upon in most Towns; the Flame soon became general; and *Cinna*, at the Head of this new Party, began to raise Men and Money. The Senate, inform'd of his Evil Designs, pass'd Sentence upon him. He was declar'd fallen from his Right of a Citizen; <sup>Rome, 666.</sup> depriv'd of his Dignity of Consul; and in his Room, they elected *Lucius Merula*, a Priest of *Jupiter*, and one of the best Men in the Commonwealth.

*Cinna's* Fury increas'd upon the hearing of this Sentence. His Spirit, naturally proud and fiery, conceiv'd none but destructive Projects against his Enemies. But as he had occasion for an Army to maintain himself, he resolv'd to gain a Body of *Roman* Forces, then encamp'd near *Capua*, to his Party.

He hasten'd to that Camp, and before they had heard of his Deposal, he directed himself to some Military Tribunes, whom he artfully gain'd and brought over to his Interest. Those Officers, in Conjunction with him, call'd the Army together. The Soldiers were at first surpriz'd to see the Consul appear there without his Lictors, Fasces, and other Tokens of the Consular Dignity: When

*Cinna*

*Cinna* addressing himself to them: " You see (said he) in my Person, a strange and unheard-of Precedent of the Senate's Tyranny. You had made me your Consul; the People of *Rome* had conferr'd that Dignity on me by their Votes; and the Senate deprives me of it, without hearing what I can say for my self; and even without having consulted the People. After such an Attempt, What can you expect will become of your Liberties, your Rights, and your Votes? And it is on Account of those very Votes, whose Numbers I had resolv'd to augment, to maintain your Authority, that I suffer these Injuries. Had I been less attach'd to the Interest of the People, I had still been at the Head of the Senate, and you had still seen me in your Tribunal with all the Badges of my Dignity; whereas I present my self now as a Suppliant, and as an unfortunate attainted Man, without Country, without House, without Domestick Gods, forc'd to wander as Chance directs, or to hide my self in a Country where I have a Right to Command.

At the same Time he tears his Robe, like a Man penetrated with the utmost Grief: He calls on the Gods, Avengers of Injustice, and throws himself on the Ground, ready to run himself through with his own Sword, and as if he had resolv'd not to outlive his Disgrace. The Soldiers, mov'd at this sad Spectacle, raise him up, and carry him back to the Tribunal. Every one encourages him; they appoint him Lictors, and restore him the *Fasces*; and the Army, gain'd by its Officers, acknowledge him for their Consul and General, and take an Oath of Fidelity to him.

*Cinna*, whom they had hitherto despis'd at *Rome*, became formidable; and the Desertion of that whole Army was taken for the Beginning of a Civil War. The Two Consuls *Octavius* and *Merula*,

App.  
Alex.  
idem.  
ibid. c. 2.

*Merula*, by order of the Senate, rais'd immediately new Forces. Some Troops were taken into the Service from those Confederates who had not embrac'd *Cinna's* Party; and at the same Time they recall'd *Cn. Pompeius*, Father of *Pompey* the Great. He then commanded a Body upon the Coasts of the *Ionick* Sea, and he came to *Rome*, encamping before the *Collatine* Gate, to cover the City. But the Commonwealth got but little Advantage by him, since that General carried himself so artfully betwixt both Parties, in *Sylla's* Absence, that it was never known which Side he favour'd. Maybe, he even sought to raise himself upon the Ruin of both; which afterwards made him equally odious to both Parties.

In the mean Time, *Cinna's* Party grew daily stronger, many Senators going to his Camp; and News was brought at the same Time, that *Caius Marius* and his Son were upon the Road thither. That famous Leader of that Party had till then lived as an Exile in the little Island of *Circinna*, upon the Coast of *Africa*, whither he had fled with his Son, and some *Roman* Senators, who follow'd his Fortune. We have seen, that *Sylla* had drove him out of *Rome*; and that after his Flight, he had been attainted, and a Price set upon his Head. *Calus Marius*, upwards of Seventy Years of Age, after Six Consulships, which he had exercis'd with as much Authority as Glory, saw himself reduc'd to that Extremity, as to be forc'd to fly from *Rome* on Foot, without either a Friend or a Servant to accompany him in his Flight. After having walk'd some way in this deplorable Condition, he was forc'd, to avoid *Sylla's* People that pursu'd him, to throw himself in a Morass, where he lay the whole Night sunk and buried in the Mud up to his Neck. He got out of it in the Morning at break of Day, endeavouring to gain the Sea-shore, in hopes to meet with some Vessel that

that should help him to get out of *Italy*. But being known by some People of *Minturna*, he was stopp'd: He was carried into that Town with a Rope about his Neck, all naked and muddy. The Magistrate, in Obedience to the Decree of the Senate, sent to him immediately a publick Slave, a *Cimbrian* by Birth, to put him to Death.

Plut. in  
M. rio.

*Marius* seeing that Slave enter his Prison, and judging of his Errand by a naked Sword, which he held in his Hand, said to him with a strong Voice, *Thou Barbarian, Can'st thou have the Assurance to assassinate Caius Marius?* The Slave, frighted at the Sound of a Name so terrible to his Countrymen, throws down his Sword, and flies out of the Prison in a very great Disorder, and crying out, *It was not in his Power to kill Marius.* The Magistrates of *Minturna* look'd upon the Disorder and Fright of that Slave as an Act of Heaven, which watch'd for the Preservation of that Great Man; and, mov'd with pious Sentiments, they set him free again: "Let him go (said they) wandering where his Stars will guide him, and let him undergo the Sentence of the Senate any where else but here. We only supplicate the Gods to forgive us, if a superior Authority forces us to drive out of our Town the Man, who formerly saved all *Italy* from the Incurſion of *Barbarians*." Those of *Minturna* did even supply him with a Vessel, which at first carried him into the Island of *Ænaria*, where he met with a Senator of his own Party, call'd *Gramus*, and some more of his attainted Friends, who acquainted him, that his Son had taken Refuge in the Court of *Mandrestal*, or as *Plutarch* calls him, *Hyempsal* King of *Numidia*; which determin'd *Marius* to pass into *Africa*. The stormy Weather, or as some say, want of Water, oblig'd him to put in and go on Shoar upon the Coast of *Sicily*; and there he met with new Dangers. Scarce had he set his Foot upon the Shoar,

Shoar, when a *Roman* Quæstor, who had the Chief Command there, and who by mere Chance was there at that Time, offer'd to seize him. They came to Blows, and *Marius* did not escape this Danger, but with the Loss of Sixteen of his Men, who made a Stand just upon the Shoar, whilst others help'd him to go on Board. After some Days Sail he arriv'd in *Africa*, and landed near *Carthage*. *Sextilius* commanded in that Province as Prætor; and as *Marius* had never disoblig'd him, he flatter'd himself that he would not enquire after him, nor disturb him in his Retirement; but that he should find a Refuge where he might recover himself of the great Fatigues of the Sea. But scarce had he been there a few Days, when he saw a Lictor coming, who signify'd to him the Order he brought from the Prætor, that he should depart his Government, threatening to prosecute him as an Enemy of the *Roman* State, if he abode there any longer. *Marius*, pierc'd with Grief, and fill'd with Resentment, that he could not find a little Corner where he might be safe, after having seen himself in a manner Master of the World, was looking on the Lictor with Disdain, and in a deep Silence, when being press'd to return him Answer: Go and tell your Master, said he, that you have seen *Caius Marius* banished his Native Country, sitting upon the Ruins of *Carthage*; as if by the Comparison of his own Misfortunes with the Fall of the mighty Empire of *Carthage*, he design'd to remind the Prætor of the Uncertainty of the greatest Fortunes. He went afterwards on Board, notwithstanding the Badness of the Weather, and Rigor of the Season; and he spent part of the Winter in his Ship, wandering in those Seas, waiting for the Return of one of his Servants, whom he had sent to his Son in *Numidia*, that he might get Leave for him to retire likewise in the Dominions of *Mandressal*. But he was much surpriz'd,

priz'd, when he saw him arrive himself, and heard that he had luckily escaped a Refuge, which was soon become a Prison to him. That barbarous Prince had at first received him with all the Marks of Respect which all Kings used to show the *Romans*, and which were due above all to the great Name of *Marius*, so famous all over *Numidia*. But having understood how Matters went, he had resolv'd to retain the Son as an Hostage, which Fortune had sent him, and to make himself a Merit of it with the Party that should prevail. And though to all outward Appearance, he still used him with the same Respect and good Manners, young *Marius* soon perceived that he was a Prisoner, and that *Mandrestal* caus'd him to be accompanied every where by a great Number of *Numidian* Nobles, who never lost Sight of him, not so much to do him Honour, as to be a Guard upon him. Luckily the young *Roman* had found the way to the Heart of one of the King's Wives. Love, in the Shape of Compassion, made that Princess as it were a Sharer in his Misfortunes; and notwithstanding her secret Passion, she was generous enough to procure him the Means of escaping. He came to his Father, as we have said; and *Marius*, inform'd what was doing at *Rome* by a Messenger from *Cinna*, resolv'd to hasten to his Army, to endeavour to raise his Party again.

Plat. in  
Mario.

App.  
Alex.

l. 2. c. 16.

He took Shipping again, and after some Days sailing, he landed on the Coast of *Hetruria*, whence he sent to offer his Services to *Cinna*, in the like manner as a private Citizen would have done to his Consul. *Cinna*, hearing this great News, imparted it immediately to *Quintus Sertorius*, one of his Lieutenants, and ask'd his Advice. *Sertorius*, who was a great Commander, but wise and moderate, and who dreaded the rough and revengeful Temper of *Marius*, was not of Opinion that he should

should be receiv'd in the Army. He remonstrated Plut. in to *Cinna*, that he was powerful enough to triumph Sert. alone over his Enemies; that no sooner should *Marius* be at the Head of the Army, but all the Authority would of Course devolve upon him; that he would rob him of the Honour of all the glorious Successes; and besides, that he was a Man in whom it was not always safe to confide. *Cinna* own'd all this to be very just and solid: " But  
 " ( says he ) which way can I send back a Man  
 " whom I have my self invited to come to my  
 " Army; and to join his Resentments with ours  
 " against our Common Enemies? Since it is you  
 " ( replied *Sertorius* ) that have call'd him in, there  
 " was no need of this Consultation; and nothing  
 " more is left for you to do, after you have join'd  
 " with him, but to watch his Conduct as narrowly,  
 " as you do the Designs and Undertakings of  
 " your declared Enemies.

*Cinna*, after this secret Conference, wrote to *Marius*, inviting him anew to come to his Army: He stiled him Proconsul in his Letter, and he sent him Lictors, and all the other Ornaments of a Proconsul. *Marius* came to *Cinna's* Camp; but he sent back the Lictors, and all other Marks of the Proconsular Dignity, as not agreeing to his present Circumstances. He affected, on the contrary, to wear nothing but an old Gown; his Hair and Beard rough; he walk'd slow, and like a Man quite oppress'd with his Misfortunes. But through the Disguise of that doleful Countenance, something so fierce was discern'd in his Visage, that he rather created Terror, than moved Compassion. It was no sooner known at *Rome*, that *Marius* was return'd to *Italy*, with a Design to make War, but more than Five Hundred Citizens went out to meet and join him. He then travell'd through all *Italy*, visited every Town, and proclaim'd, that he took up Arms with no other View, than to get  
 their



their Citizens receiv'd into the ancient Tribes, and into the Body of the Commonwealth. The People, allur'd with this Expectation, gave him Money and Troops. A great Number of *Roman* Soldiers, who had formerly serv'd under him, came and offer'd him their Service. To increase his Army still more, he proclaim'd by Sound of Trumpet, that he would make all such Slaves Freemen, as should come under his Banner. A great Number came in thereupon, to whom he caus'd Arms to be distributed; and he chose the most likely amongst them to make up his Guards.

*Cinna* and *Marius*, thinking themselves strong enough to besiege *Rome*, march'd up to it without the least Obstacle. *Cinna* and *Carbo*, one of his Lieutenants, encamp'd on the Banks of the *Tiber*, *Sertorius* about it, and *Marius* near the Seaside. Their Design was to prevent the City from being supplied with Provisions. *Cn. Pompeius* indeed, had a considerable Body of Forces, which might have made the City easy on that Account; but the Conduct of that General was so equivocal, his Measures so much studied, and his Designs so dark, that there was no depending on his Assistance. He was a little while after kill'd by a Blast of Lightning; and it was observ'd, that they were as well pleas'd at his Death in the City, as in the Enemy's Camp. The Consul *Octavius* was oblig'd to take his Place. No body doubted of his Integrity, nor his good Intentions; but he was an unexperienc'd Soldier, and succeeded a great Commander. He was even rather a good Citizen, than a Man fit to govern; scrupulously attach'd to a fearful Observation of the Laws, and a Stranger to that Maxim, that when the Welfare of a Country is at Stake, its Governors ought to place themselves even above the Laws. He was blamed for refusing the Help that the numberless  
Slaves

Slaves in *Rome* proffered him: He said to his Officers who press'd him to arm them for the Defence of the City, that he would never grant the Prerogative of Citizens to Slaves, when he had taken it from *Caius Marius*; and that it would be a Violation of those very Laws, for the Defence of which he had taken up Arms. Plut. in Mario.

*Cinna* and *Marius*, in the mean time, streighten'd *Rome* very much, and the very Army of *Octavius* was in a manner besieg'd. It was impossible to recall *Sylla*, now at too great a Distance, and having his Hands full in the remotest Parts of *Asia*, against *Mithridates*. So that the Senate could have Recourse only to a Body of Forces commanded by *Cecilius Metellus*, Son of him who had been stiled *Numidicus*, who was then making War upon the *Samnites*, a courageous People, always Enemies of the *Roman* Name, and who obstinately sustained the Remains of the Confederate War, which we mentioned before.

The Senate, who knew the Ability and Courage of that General, sent him Orders to terminate that War upon as honourable Conditions as possible; to march his Army immediately back to relieve his Country; and if he could not clap up a Peace, even to leave his Troops under the Command of his Lieutenants, and to come himself to assist the Consul in his Camp. *Metellus* hereupon sends to the Generals of the Enemies to make Proposals; but as in the Treaty he always would preserve the Dignity of the *Roman* Name, *Marius* arrived whilst the Negotiation was carrying on slowly, and offered the *Samnites* such advantageous Conditions, that they declared in his Favour; so that *Metellus* despairing of concluding that Peace, left his Forces to his Lieutenants, and went himself to *Octavius's* Camp. App. Alex. l. 1; c. 16.

The Soldiers of that Consul, who despis'd him as much as they valued *Metellus*, demanded the

latter loudly for their General; and openly declared, that as soon as they should have so brave a Man at their Head, they should not fear repulsing all the Efforts of their Enemies, and saving *Rome* and the Commonwealth. But *Metellus*, as modest as he was brave, refused those seditious Applauses with Indignation; he upbraided the Soldiers with want of Discipline; and this he did with so much Severity, that most being provoked at his Usage, went over to *Marius*. Which shows, that in a Civil War, the Heads of Parties can never manage Soldiers too tenderly, because their own Example makes them mutinous; and that commonly they do not think themselves guilty of serving against their Country, when they obey Generals, and list into Troops of their own Nation.

*Marius*, to make the Disorder in *Rome* still greater, proclaim'd near the Walls of that City, that he would set all those Slaves free, who should come to serve in his Army; which every Day drew a great Number thither. The common People, on the other hand, who will have Bread, come whence it will, did loudly complain, that the Senate, for their own private Interest, kept up a War which endanger'd their Wives and Children to starve. Even the greatest Number of those Senators, who at first appear'd the most zealous, did now preserve but a cold, tho' seeming Respect for the Party. And as it is rare to meet with much Faith in a Civil War, because of the mutual Ties between the Two Parties, nothing else was seen but Deferters and secret Negotiators going to and fro between the City and the Camp, to make their private Agreements.

The Senate seeing its Party and Authority daily declining, and fearing a general Insurrection, thought it time to come to a Parley. Deputies were sent to *Cinna* to make him some Overtures of Peace. *Cinna*, before he would hear them, sent to

to ask, Whether they had Orders to acknowledge him for one of the Consuls of the Commonwealth; or whether they design'd to treat with him upon the Foot of a private Person? The Deputies having no Instructions touching so nice a Point, return'd to the City for fresh Orders. The Senate, puzzled at *Cinna's* Question, scarce knew what Course to take. It seem'd unfeasible to depose so honest a Man as *Merula*, who had been rais'd to that Dignity without so much as putting up for it. On the other hand, the People, press'd by Hunger, call'd loudly for Bread; and it was to be fear'd, would let the Enemy into the City. *Merula's* Generosity help'd the Senate out; of himself he laid down the Consulship, and by his Demission, the Senate, being free of their last Obligation, sent new Deputies to *Cinna*, as to a Consul of the Roman State. *Cinna* receiv'd them in his Tribunal with all the Tokens of the First Magistrate of the Commonwealth. The Deputies invited him, in the Name of the Senate, to enter *Rome*, and into the Functions of his Dignity; and stipulated no other Condition with him, than that he would be pleas'd to spare the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, and to take an Oath, that he would put none of them to Death but according to Law, and conformably to the usual Course of Justice. *Cinna* refus'd to take that Oath; but he protested, that he would never give his Consent to the Death of any Citizen. He even sent word to the Consul *Octavius*, that he would not do amiss to retire somewhat from *Rome* till all was settled peaceably. *Marius* was standing next to *Cinna's* Tribunal; he did not speak to the Deputies, but his Silence, a fierce Look, and his Eyes sparkling with Rage, told them sufficiently, that that Man, always furious in his Revenge, breathed nothing but Blood and Slaughter.

*Metellus*, seeing the Affairs of *Rome* desperate, would not enter the Town. He rather chose to banish himself from his Country, than to own *Cinna's* Authority; and he retired into *Liguria* towards the Sea-side. *Octavius*, on the contrary, protested, that since he was Consul, he would not quit the City: He placed himself in his Consular Habit on his Tribunal, surrounded with his Lictors; and there he resolved to expect whatever Fate the Enemies should assign him.

*Cinna* and *Marius* advanc'd to the Gates of *Rome* at the Head of their Forces. *Cinna* enter'd first, accompanied with his Guards; but *Marius* halted at the Gate, and when his Friends intreated him to enter, he told them, That since he had been banish'd by a Publick Decree, it was necessary he should be recall'd by a like one. That cruel and savage Man still made a Shew of bearing Respect to the Laws. They were obliged, in Compliance with him, to call the People together in the Forum; but scarce had two or three of the oldest Tribes given their Votes, when he, impatient to satisfy his cruel Temper, and thinking the Ceremony too long, threw off the Mask, and fell upon the City with a Band of his Guards, murdering such as he had nam'd to them, where-ever they found them. *Caius*, and *Lucius Julius Serranus*, *P. Lentulus*, *C. Numitorius*, *M. Bibulus Crassus*, all Senators of great Note, were murdered in the Streets, and the first that were sacrificed to *Marius's* Resentment. He caus'd their Heads to be carried and laid upon the *Rostrum*. And as if he designed to pursue his Revenge even beyond Death, he ordered that their mangled Bodies should be left in the Street, to be devoured by Dogs. Of the Two Consuls, *Octavius* was killed on his Tribunal, contrary to *Cinna's* Promise; and *Merula*, knowing he was proscribed, had his Veins open'd, to rob his Enemy of the cruel Pleasure of determining the  
kind

kind of his Death. But as he was a Priest of *Jupiter*, and that by the Laws of their Religion, it was not lawful for Persons of that Character to die with the Mitre on their Heads, they found after his Decease a Writing, expressing, that before he died, he had had the Precaution to lay down that sacred Ornament, that he might not (said he) profane it with his Blood. *Marcus Antonius*, whose sheltering Place had been discovered by *Marius* his Guards, was murdered next: He was a noted Senator, of a *Plebeian* Family, and who pretended to derive his Origin from one *Antho*, Son of *Hercules*; but his Family was become more illustrious from this Senator, who had been Consul and Cenfor, and was reputed the best Orator of his Time. *Quintus Catulus*, another Consular, and famous for his Victory over the *Cimbri*, in which he shared with that Tyrant *Marius*, having understood that he was proscribed, shut himself up in a Room, and there stifled himself with the Vapour of Charcoal, that he had order'd to be brought thither. *Rome* saw every Day some of her worthiest Citizens perish, whom *Marius's* Ruffians murdered without any Mercy. That Band of furious Slaves, whom he had made the Instruments of his Vengeance, did nothing else but murder the Heads of Families, plunder their Houses, ravish the Women, and carry off Children. At the least Sign of *Marius*, they stabb'd such as came before him: They had even Orders to kill all those on the Spot, to whom he did not return their Salute; so that his very Officers and Friends never came near him but in Fear, and uncertain of their Fate.

Amidst so much Bloodshed, *Marius* used to complain that the chief Victim had escap'd him, and that his Vengeance was imperfect, since he could not extend it to *Sylla* himself: But that General was both too distant and too powerful to have any

thing to fear from the Cruelty of his Enemy. The Tyrant, to give Vent to his Rage, endeavoured to hurt him in what he knew the most sensible to him. He caused his Wife *Metella* to be strictly enquired after, who was a Daughter of *Metellus Numidicus*, as likewise his Children, to put them to Death. It was by a mere lucky Accident they escap'd the Fury of that Monster. The principal Friends of *Sylla* got them out of *Rome*, and conducted them as far as his Army. *Marius*, enrag'd at their Flight, extended his Vengeance upon the most insensible and inanimate Things. He caused his House to be raz'd, and his Goods to be confiscated; and whilst *Sylla* was adding large Provinces and Kingdoms to the Roman State, he was not ashamed of having him declar'd an Enemy of the Commonwealth. The Senate, who knew how to call any thing Law, and adapt their Decrees to the Pleasure of the prevailing Party, made no Difficulty to declare him guilty. They revok'd all the Laws which they had pass'd during his Consulship; ready to do the same with *Marius's* Decrees, if the opposite Party got uppermost. *Cinna* and *Marius* got themselves at the same time chosen Consuls for the Year ensuing, thereby to strengthen themselves with the Authority of that Sovereign Magistracy against the Resentment and the Armies of *Sylla*, whose Return into *Italy* they much dreaded. And indeed his Wife, Children, Friends, and all those that were proscribed, and had fled to his Camp, solicited and intreated him daily to turn his Arms against his private Enemies, and to free his Country of those Tyrants, who so long had oppress'd it. But *Sylla*, superior to his private Resentments, thought it more honourable to fight the Enemies of the State, than to ruin the Affairs of the Commonwealth on purpose to indulge a precipitate and private Revenge; and he resolv'd to make an End of

Year of  
Rome,  
667.

Plur. in  
*Sylla*.

his

his Foreign Enemy, before he turn'd against his Domestick Foes. In the mean time, he wrote a long Letter to the Senate, wherein with a lively Stile he recited his Services, and the Injuries done him, and ended it with Complaints mix'd with Threats. "You know, Conscript Fathers, said <sup>App. l. 1. c. 18.</sup> he, all the Labours we have undergone in different Climates, for the Service of the Commonwealth. As Quæstor in *Numidia*, Military Tribune in the *Cimbrian* War, Proprator in the Confederate War, and now as Proconsul against *Mitbridates*, I have always fought your Battels with Success. I have vanquish'd in many Engagements, the Generals of that powerful Foe of the *Roman* Name. I have drove his Garrisons out of all *Greece*, and hope soon to confine him to his ancient Dominions of the Kingdom of *Pontus*." He added, that for a Reward of his Services, the Senate, at the Instigation of his Enemies, had set a Price upon his Head; his Friends had been put to Death; his Wife and Children forc'd to fly from *Rome*, to save their Lives; his House had been pull'd down; his Estate confiscated; and the Laws abrogated which he had enacted during his Consulship. But that he hoped soon to return to *Rome*, at the Head of his powerful and victorious Army; and that then he would have his Revenge, both for his private and publick Injuries.

This Letter, and the News daily arriving from *Sylla's* Army, that that General design'd to turn his Arms against the Two Consuls, gave them a great deal of Uneasiness. *Marius*, loaded with Years, and his Body exhausted with the Hardships sustained in War, fear'd he should be oblig'd to take the Field again; and was more averse to it, when he consider'd that he should meet a powerful Enemy, a great General, always successful, yet in the Vigor of his Life; who was expeditious, diligent,



gent, and unwearied; and who had drove him out of *Rome* once before.

He called to mind all his past Misfortunes, his Flight, his Banishment, the Dangers he had run by Sea and Land; and dreaded being exposed to the same Hazards again in so advanc'd an Age. These melancholy Thoughts continually beset him, and made him incapable of Sleep. It was to procure that, and to divert those dismal Thoughts, that he abandon'd himself to excessive Drinking. He endeavour'd to drown his Cares in Wine, and he never thought himself easy, but when he had lost his Reason. This new kind of Life, and his great Excesses, gave him a Pleuresy, of which he died on the Seventeenth Day of his Seventh Consulship. One Historian seems to intimate, that he hasten'd his own End; but doth not tell in what manner. He only relates, that *Marius*, one Evening after Supper walking with some of his Friends, did for a long while discourse them upon the chief Events of his Life; and that after he had related all that he had experienc'd and felt of good and bad Fortune, he added, that he thought it unwise in a Man of his Years, to trust any longer to so unconstant a Goddess. That having ended that Discourse, he embrac'd all about him with a Tenderness very uncommon to him; that he went thereupon to Bed, where he died a few Days afterwards.

C. Piso  
in Plut.

*The End of the Tenth Book.*

BOOK

## B O O K X I.

*After the Decease of Marius, C. Marius, his Son, unites firmly with Cinna and Valerius Flaccus. This last having been declared Consul, crosses over into Asia with an Army against Mithridates, pretending that the War which Sylla made upon him, was without the Approbation of the Senate. Fimbria, Lieutenant to Valerius Flaccus, kills his General. Sylla makes Peace with Mithridates, and marches against Fimbria, who, abandon'd by his Soldiers, runs himself through. Sylla returns into Italy, where he finds an Army superior to his own, and commanded by experienc'd Officers, headed by L. Corn. Scipio, and C. Julius Norbanus, the Two Consuls for that Year. With Cunning and Money he debauches Scipio's Army to his Party; and triumphs over that of Norbanus by his Valour. Young Marius is chosen Consul. He challenges Sylla to a Battel, and is defeated. He shuts himself up in Preneste, where his Antagonist besieges him. After the Ruin of his Party, Preneste is at last oblig'd to surrender to the Victorious Sylla. Marius endeavours to get off by subterraneous Passages, together with a young Samnite, who commanded the Troops of his Nation in the Town; but having found no Issue, those Two Generals mutually kill each other. Sylla declared perpetual Dictator; rides himself of his Enemies by cruel Proscriptions. He divests himself of the Sovereign Power, and dies a private Man. M. Emilius Lepidus, who during Sylla's Life, had been attach'd to the Patrician Party,*

Party, becomes the Head of the Plebeian, after the Death of the Dictator. Having had the Government of Gallia Cisalpina at the Expiration of his Consulship, he raises an Army there, with which he comes to encamp close by Rome, where he is defeated by Catulus. He retreats into Sardinia, and dies there. Pompey is sent to Spain, where after some ill Successes against Sertorius, he has at last the Glory of ending that War, by causing Perpenna's Head to be cut off. An Army of Slaves, commanded by Spartacus, obtain several Victories over the Roman Legions. They are defeated by Crassus, and their General kill'd. The Pyrate War ended by Pompey.

Year of  
Rome,  
667.

THE greatest Number of the Roman Citizens thought they came to Life the Second Time, when they heard *Marius* was dead. But their Joy was of a short Continuance, for they soon perceiv'd that they had only chang'd their Tyrant. Young *Marius* inherited his Father's Cruelty, as well as his Power; and he celebrated his Funeral with the Death of many Senators, who had escap'd the first Fury of the Proscription. This young Man enter'd into a close League with *Cinna*, and persuaded *Valerius Flaccus* into it, who was a Creature of *Marius*. They even got him named to succeed him in the Consular Dignity; and this new Magistrate, to gain the Favour of the Multitude, propos'd a Law which declared Debtors free upon paying to their Creditors the Fourth Part of the Principal. They afterwards consulted how they should prevent *Sylla's* Return; and for that End, agreed to send an Army into *Asia* against *Mithridates*, under Pretence, that the War which *Sylla* had made upon him, was disown'd by the Commonwealth; and that the Authority of that General, proscrib'd by a Decree of the Senate, was illegal. *Cinna* made *Valerius* sensible, that it was

was their common Interest, that he should take that Task upon him; and he flatter'd him with the Hopes, that *Sylla's* Soldiers, seeing a Consul in those Parts, would soon desert to his Eagles; or at least, that his Army would keep that of *Sylla* in some Awe, and retard their March to *Italy*, if he had the Boldness to attempt it, while he was so near him.

*Valerius* march'd from *Rome* with Two Legions. He was a Man of a tyrannical and violent Spirit, proud of his new Dignity; cruel in punishing the private Soldiers, and odious to the Officers, whom he treated with too much Scorn: He was incapable of Gratitude, because he ascribed all the Complaisance that was shown him, to the mere Fear of his Power and Resentment. As *Cinna* was not much convinc'd of his Abilities, he appointed for his Lieutenant a Senator, call'd *Fimbria*, to assist him, being as much esteem'd by the Army for his Valour, as *Valerius* was hated for his harsh Temper. These Two Chiefs were not long together before they fell out. The Lieutenant, sensible of the want of Abilities in his General, did not sufficiently respect his Dignity; and the Consul, no ways regarding the Merit of an Officer of so great Distinction as *Fimbria*, was for turning Military Subordination into slavish Obedience. The Transition from this to Broils and Animosities was easy; and scarce were they arriv'd in *Asia*, but their Misunderstanding was open; and shew'd it self on occasion of some Quarters which the Quæstor of the Army and *Fimbria* contended for. The Consul joyfully laid hold of this Opportunity to mortify his Lieutenant, and gave it for the Quæstor. *Fimbria*, enrag'd at this Preference, threatned him publickly to quit the Service. *Valerius*, to show him that he could do without him, gave his Post that Instant to another. This Second Affront made *Fimbria* quite mad. The Soldiers, who lov'd

App. Alex;  
de bello  
contra  
Mythrid.  
c. 5.

lov'd him, resent'd the Injury that was done him ; the whole Army rose up in a tumultuous Manner. *Valerius*, instead of using his Authority, and by his Presence endeavouring to bring them to their Duty, fled in a cowardly Manner ; and that General deserting his own Army, threw himself into a neighbouring Town, and hid himself at the Bottom of a Well. *Fimbria*, hurried away by his Passion, pursues him, enters the Place, got him out of the Well, and with his own Hands kills his Consul, and his General. To fortify himself against *Cinna's* Resentment, he caus'd the whole Army to take an Oath to him, knowing that he should at any Time get himself declar'd Guiltless, as long as he should be at the Head of his Legions ; and that the bare Apprehension of his going over to *Sylla's* Party, would make them connive at his Crime.

Idem App.  
ibid.

Vol. I. 2.

c. 24.

As he was a Man of Courage, and a great General, he obtained considerable Advantages over *Mithridates* and his Lieutenants. He follow'd close upon that Prince himself, whom, after a Defeat, he forc'd to abandon *Pergamus*, a City of *Troas*, and to retreat to *Pitane*, a strong Place, where he could receive Supplies by Sea. *Fimbria* nevertheless besieg'd him there ; but having no Fleet to shut up the Harbour, he wrote to *Lucullus*, who commanded that of *Sylla*, to sail up to it, and to contribute, notwithstanding the Difference of Parties, to the taking of the greatest Enemy of the Roman State. *Mithridates* had been infallibly undone, if this Lieutenant of *Sylla* would have acted in Conjunction with *Fimbria*. But for all the Honour he would have gain'd by the taking of so great a Monarch, he did not think fit to undertake any Thing without the Knowledge of his General. Perhaps too he made a Scruple to have the least Correspondence with a Man who had so lately murdered his Consul. So that *Mithridates* not be-  
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ing obstructed on the Sea-side, got out of the Place, and continued the War with various Successes against *Fimbria* and *Sylla* too, though he had already enter'd upon a Sort of a Treaty with the latter.

*Sylla* had in less than Three Years retaken all the Towns of *Greece*; defeated *Taxiles*, *Archelaus*, and *Dorilos*, Generals of *Mithridates*, who commanded in *Beotia* an Army of above a Hundred Thousand Men, in Two General Battels near *Cheronea* and *Orobomene*. And he vanquish'd those formidable Armies with no more than Fifteen Thousand Men, and at a Time when he could hope for no Supplies from *Rome*, where the Party of *Marius* reign'd. But as a prosperous War never fails of supplying the Victor with Necessaries, his Victories had brought into his Camp Plenty of every Thing that was good and valuable. His Army increas'd, Men came from all Parts to fight under his Banners, and *Asia* was an inexhaustible Treasury to him. *Sylla*, with those Supplies, and at the Head of a Victorious Army, might have carried his Conquests a great way, if his Uneasiness about the Transactions at *Rome*, and the Desire of raising his Party again, had not outweigh'd in his Mind the Advantages which he might reasonably promise himself from the Continuation of this War. He had firmly resolv'd however not to quit *Asia*, before he had forc'd his Enemy, either by Arms, or a Treaty, into the Bounds of his ancient Dominions. Whilst he was thus deliberating with himself, *Mithridates*, who on his Side was not less violently disturb'd in Mind, and who fear'd that so great a General, and so fortunate in all his Undertakings, should drive him quite out of *Asia*, sent private Orders to *Archelaus*, one of his Generals, to endeavour to clap up a Peace upon any Terms.

Plut. in  
Sylla.

*Archelaus* made some Overtures to *Sylla*, by Means of a Merchant, who, on Account of Trade, had free Access to both the Camps. A Negotiation was set on Foot insensibly, and the Two Generals, after some Preliminaries settled, met in a Place they had agreed upon. *Archelaus*, not ignorant how much it imported *Sylla* to be at Liberty to go for *Italy*, propos'd him to unite his Interests with those of *Mithridates*; and that his Master would supply him with Money, Troops, and Shipping, to make War upon *Cinna* and *Marius*.

*Sylla*, without seeming to resent such Proposals, did on his Side advise him to withdraw himself from the Slavery he liv'd in under an imperious and cruel Prince. He propos'd he should take upon him the Title of King in his Government, and offer'd to procure him the Name and Advantages of an Ally, and a Friend of the *Romans*, if he would deliver into his Hands *Mithridates's* Fleet, which he commanded. *Archelaus* rejected this Proposal with Scorn, and gave the *Roman* General to understand, that he took it very ill of him to think him capable of such a treacherous Action. When *Sylla* taking upon him that Air of Greatness and Dignity, so natural to the *Romans*; " If being but a Slave, (said he) or at most but an Officer of a *Barbarian* King, you think it a base Action to quit the Service of your Master: How durst you be so bold as to propose the relinquishing the Interest of the Commonwealth to such a *Roman* as *Sylla*? Do you take Things to be upon the Level betwixt us? Have you forgot my Victories? Have you forgot, that you are the same *Archelaus*, whom I have defeated in Two Battels; and whom, after the last, I forced to go hide himself in the Morasses of *Orchemene*.

*Archelaus*, confounded with so haughty an Answer, was no longer the same during all that Negotiation:

Plut. in  
Sylla.  
App. in  
bello  
contr.  
Mithrid.  
c. 16.

gociation: *Sylla* got the better of him, and like one animated by Victory, dictated the Terms of the Treaty. He told him, that if *Mithridates* would have Peace, that Prince must quit *Asia Minor* and *Paphlagonia*; restore *Bythia* to *Nicomedes*, and *Cappadocia* to *Ariobarzanes*; pay the Romans Two Thousand Talents for the Charges of the War, and deliver Seventy Gallies into their Hands. Upon these Conditions, *Sylla* oblig'd himself, on his Side, to get *Mithridates* confirmed by the Senate in the Possession of all his other Dominions, and declared a Friend and Ally of the Roman People. The Treaty being concluded on these Terms, an Account of the Articles was sent to *Mithridates*. That Prince returned it immediately back to *Sylla* by his Ambassadors, who told him, That their Master wou'd willingly sign it, but that he cou'd not part either with *Paphlagonia*, nor his Gallies. *Sylla* answered them sternly; You say, that *Mithridates* will retain *Paphlagonia*, Plut. in Sylla. and refuses to surrender the Gallies to me; to me, who have Reason to expect he shou'd throw himself at my Feet, to thank me for not cutting off the Hand with which he has murder'd so many Roman Citizens. But he may perhaps speak in another Tone, if I can but meet with him. The Ambassadors confounded, answered not a single Word. But *Archelaus* taking him by the Hand, intreated him to moderate his Anger. He only desired Time of him to go to the King his Master; and assur'd him, that he wou'd bring the Ratification of the Treaty with him, or kill himself in his Presence.

*Archelaus*, having obtain'd *Sylla*'s Word for suspending Hostilities, made great Haste; and being come before *Mithridates*, he so lively describ'd the Strength of the Enemy, and the Dangers he expos'd himself to; by continuing the War against so great a General, that his Master, though as inveterate



veterate as ever against the *Romans*, was soon made sensible, that it was his Interest to suspend, at least for a-while, the Execution of his vast Designs; to wait till some favourable Incident freed him of *Sylla*, and put him in a Condition to resume the War with a better Prospect of Success. With that Intent he sent *Archelaus* back again to *Sylla*, to assure him, that he was coming himself with the Ratification of the whole Treaty; and only wish'd to have an Opportunity to discourse him before he return'd to *Italy*. *Mithridates* wanted this Interview, because his Peace with *Sylla* did not free him of the War which *Fimbria* carried on against him; and he wanted to consult with him, in what manner he should deal with this Adventurer, who did not acknowledge *Sylla's* Authority.

*Sylla* having agreed to this Interview, they met at *Dardanium*, a Town of *Troas*. *Mithridates* approaching the Roman General, held out his Hand to him, as a Token of his Friendship. *Sylla*, before he made any Return to his Civility, ask'd him, Whether he accepted of the Peace upon the same Condition that *Archelaus* had agreed to? *Mithridates*, astonish'd at the Pride and Haughtiness of the Roman General, after having said some Things to justify the War he had begun, declared, that he ratify'd the Treaty in all its Parts. Hereupon *Sylla* embraced him, and presented *Ariobaranes* and *Nicomedes* to him, whose Restoration he had stipulated in the Treaty. He assured him at the same Time, that he wou'd soon put *Fimbria* out of a Condition to give him any further Uneasiness. They afterwards parted, having given each other some external Marks of Esteem and Friendship, Things so insincere among the Great, and chiefly between Enemies newly reconciled.

How advantageous soever this Treaty was to the Romans, and chiefly to *Sylla*; yet did his Forces murmur greatly against it. The Soldiers, who had not the same Reasons, as their General, to return to *Italy*, complain'd that he did not finish overcoming an Enemy, who was no longer in a Condition to resist him.

*Sylla*, to justify his Conduct, made them sensible, that if he had rejected the Proposals of Peace, *Mithridates*, upon his Refusal, wou'd not have fail'd to agree with *Fimbria*; and that if those Two Enemies had join'd their Forces, they would have obliged him, either to abandon his Conquests, or to venture a Battel against Troops much superior in Number, and commanded by Two Great Generals, who might in one single Day, have wrested from him the Fruits of all his Victories.

*Sylla* then march'd strait against *Fimbria*, and mark'd out his Camp very near his. He then immediately sent him a Summons, to surrender up to him, as Proconsul, the Command of an Army, which he had obtain'd by the blackest of Crimes, without the Consent either of the Senate, or the Roman People. *Fimbria* sent him Word, That his Authority was equally illegal, and that every body was acquainted with the Decrees made against him at *Rome*. Then the Two Generals applied themselves to the fortifying of their Camps: But as the Soldiers of both Parties were of the same Nation, and most of the same City, instead of charging each other when they met in Foraging, they saluted one another courteously. Some came even secretly from *Fimbria's* Camp, unknown to their Officers, into that of *Sylla*, to see their Friends and Kindred. These clandestine Visits occasioned at last *Fimbria's* Ruin. *Sylla's* Soldiers, instructed by their General, won those of *Fimbria* by under-hand Presents. These, being return'd, corrupted others: Many taking Advantage of the

Night, got safe out of their own Camp to that of the Enemy. The Desertion became almost general: The Traitors fearing no longer either Reproach or Punishment, carried off their Colours, and by whole Companies deserted to *Sylla*. *Fimbria* finding himself betray'd, and abandon'd by the greatest Part of his Army, sent to demand an Interview with *Sylla*. But that General, invested with the Proconsular Dignity, not thinking it became him to put himself upon the Level with an Adventurer, only sent one of his Officers to him, call'd *Rutilius*. *Fimbria* at first complain'd bitterly, that *Sylla* shou'd refuse, that to one of his Fellow-Citizens, which he had granted to a *Barbarian* King: And after having said some Things to justify himself concerning the Murder of the Consul *Valerius*, he asked *Rutilius*, what Favour he might expect at *Sylla's* Hands? The Officer answered him, That *Sylla*, as Proconsul, demanded him to depart forthwith out of a Province, of which the Government belong'd to him. He added, with a Coldness mix'd with Disdain, That he should have Leave to go to the Sea-side to embark somewhere. *Fimbria* judging from so harsh an Answer, that his Death was resolv'd upon, answer'd him resolutely, That he knew a shorter Way; and immediately returning to *Pergamus*, and entering into the Temple of *Esculapius*, he run himself through with his own Sword. But the Wound not proving mortal, he ordered one of his Slaves to dispatch him, who immediately kill'd himself upon his Master's Body. The Remainder of his Forces lifted in *Sylla's* Army; and that General leaving the Care of raising Money to *Lucullus*, and the Command of the Troops to *Murena*, began to march his Army towards *Italy*.

*Tear of  
Rome,  
670.*

As soon as the Two Consuls, *Cinna* and *Carbo*, heard of his Coming, they ordered young *Marius*, and other Heads of their Party, to raise Forces, and

and recruit the Legions; they required the Assistance of the *Samnites*, and form'd different Armies to oppose their common Enemy. *Cinna* was resolv'd to meet him before he enter'd *Italy*, and to carry the Seat of the War into *Dalmatia*. He immediately caus'd some Forces to be transported thither; but the rest of his Army refusing to go on Board, it occasion'd a Mutiny in his Camp. During the Tumult, a Soldier, who was one of the chief Ringleaders, whom he wou'd have put under Arrest, run him through with his Sword, and kill'd him. *Carbo* seeing himself depriv'd of his Colleague, under various Pretences prevented the Election of another Consul in *Cinna's* Room, that he might be sole Master of the Administration. He continued sole Consul till the End of that Year, when *Lucius Scipio* and *Norbanus* succeeded him.

In the mean Time, *Sylla* continued his March; and after many and long Fatigues, and different Imbarkations, he arriv'd at *Durazzo*, others say at *Patras*, where he found the Fleet that was to transport his Forces to *Italy*: But before he let them embark, he call'd them all together. After having extoll'd the Valour and good Behaviour which every Soldier and Officer had shew'd during the whole Course of the *Asiatick* War; he gave them by some Innuendo's to understand, that he was somewhat suspicious, they wou'd be apt to disperse as soon as they shou'd find themselves on their Native Shore. But his Soldiers, mov'd to see him fear any Thing from them that was derogatory to the Love they bore their General, took a new Oath, promising to follow his Ensigns as long as the Civil War should last. They even assur'd him, they would never violate the Military Discipline; and each offer'd to deposit in his Hands, all the Gold and Silver they had gain'd

in the War against *Mitbridates*, as a Pledge of their Faith.

*Sylla* refus'd their Offer; he return'd them Thanks, and gave them Hopes that they shou'd be nobly rewarded. He landed soon afterwards at \* Brindes. \* *Brundisum*, without meeting with any Obstacle from the Enemy. There the Army stay'd a-while, to recover themselves of the Fatigues of the Sea, and then began their March in Search of the Enemy.

App. de Bell. Civ. l. 1. c. 19. *Metellus Pius*, who under the Consulate of *Ostivius*, had retired into *Liguria*, during the Tyranny of Old *Marius*, join'd *Sylla's* Army with a handsome Body of Troops, which he easily rais'd by means of the general Esteem he had acquired among the Soldiers. He commanded them, as a Proconsul, according to the Use of those Days, which left that Title to all that had not been in *Rome*, from the Time of their being invested with that Dignity.

*Sylla*, who bore no superior Title, receiv'd him as his Colleague, though, on Account of the Superiority of his Forces, and the Glories of his Victories, he still retain'd the chief Command. *Marcus Crassus*, of the *Licinian* Family, proscrib'd by *Marius* and *Cinna*, had join'd him before. As soon as *Sylla* enter'd *Italy*, he gave him a Commission to go into the Country of the *Marfi*, to make new Levies there. But as he cou'd not get thither without passing through several Places, where Parts of the Enemy's Army were quartered, he desired a Guard thither. But that General, who was willing to accustom his Officers to bold Enterprizes, answer'd him short : *I give you for Guards your Father, your Brother, your Kindred and Friends, who have been murder'd by our Tyrants, and whose Death I come to revenge.* *Crassus*, mov'd at this Discourse, departed immediately, got safe through several Bodies of the Enemies Forces; rais'd

Plut. in  
M. Crasso.

rais'd a great Number of Troops by his Credit, and that of his Friends; came back with them to *Sylla*, and shared with him all the Dangers, as well as the Glory, of this War. But of all the Succours, which came to him from several Parts of *Italy*, *Sylla* was pleas'd with none so much, as those that *Cn. Pompeius*, afterwards surnam'd the Great, brought to him. He was not yet Three and Twenty Years Old; yet without any publick Character did he raise an Army in the *Picenum* \*, where his Father had a great many Clients and Friends; and he made almost all the Towns of that District declare for *Sylla*. His Army consisted of Three Legions: *Brutus*, one of the Heads of the contrary Party, oppos'd his Passage: The Two Armies engag'd. *Brutus* his Horse, most of 'em *Gauls*, charg'd first. *Pompey* set his Cavalry against them; and advancing himself at the Head of a Squadron, kill'd the Commander of the *Gauls* with his Javelin. He then fell on, Sword in Hand, upon those Squadrons terrified at the Fall of their Chief. That Cavalry being push'd vigorously, was drove back upon their own Foot, who thereby were broke: *Brutus*, with all his Endeavours, cou'd not get 'em to rally again; and *Pompey*, after having cut Part of 'em down, and dispers'd the rest, open'd himself a Passage, and at length join'd *Sylla*, in Spite of Two other Bodies that endeavour'd to prevent him.

Vel. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 18.  
\* The Mark  
of Ancona.

Plut. in  
Pomp.

That General, seeing this young *Roman* arrive at the Head of his Victorious Army, alighted off his Horse, to do him the more Honour, and embrac'd him tenderly. All were astonish'd, that *Sylla*, the proudest among the *Romans*, shou'd give a Youth, who had yet no Seat in the Senate, the Title of *Imperator*, an Honour usually bestow'd in those Days, on none but such Generals of the Commonwealth, as had obtain'd some considerable Victory. But *Sylla*, without heeding the Laws

and Customs of Military Discipline, thought, that in the Circumstances he was then in, it was buying a Man of that Credit very cheap, since it cost him only an empty Title of Honour: And indeed he had never been in more Want of Assistance. He had not brought back with him from *Asia* above Thirty Thousand Men; and his Enemies had \* Four Hundred and Fifty Ensigns of Foot in several Bodies, besides their Cavalry; and those commanded by Fifteen General Officers, at whose Head were *L. Cornelius Scipio*, and *C. Junius Norbanus*, who as Consuls for that Year, had the chief Authority.

\* 200,000  
Men.

Fear of  
Rome,  
670.

These Armies even increased Daily, through the Fear People were in of *Sylla's* Resentment. No body doubted but he would take a severe Revenge, and shed a vast deal of Blood, if he could master *Rome*. And although there were still Two Parties in the City, that of the Senate, and that of the People; a Fear of the Enemy without, and their common Interest, which is the surest Bond of Union, made them all agree against a Power they dreaded; except the Friends and Adherents of *Sylla*, who to avoid the Cruelty of young *Marius*, sought an *Asylum* in the Camp of his Adversary.

*Sylla*, as well vers'd in Intrigues and secret Negotiations, as in Military Affairs, seeing himself surrounded with so many different Armies, joined Craft to his Valour. *L. Scipio*, one of the Consuls, was incamp'd very near him: He sent to him, to make him some Overtures; and in order to persuade him to an Agreement, his Deputies represented artfully to him, That *Sylla* was very much griev'd at the Calamities to which the Commonwealth must be expos'd by a Civil War, which ever Party prevailed; and that he only desir'd, in order to enable him to lay down his Arms with Honour, that his Estates, and the Title only of  
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the Dignities which had been unjustly taken from him; shou'd be restor'd to him.

*Scipio*, who was sincerely dispos'd to Peace, mislead by such plausible Proposals, seem'd satisfied with them, and only desir'd Time enough to communicate them to his Colleague *Norbanus*, who commanded another Army. During that Interval, there was a Truce betwixt the Two Camps. *Sylla's* Soldiers, by Favour of this Truce, insinuated themselves into *Scipio's* Camp, under Pretence of visiting their Friends; and with Bribes brought over many to their Party. *Sylla* had before taught his Soldiers that Trick, as we have seen above in *Fimbria's* Affair: Which made *Carbo* say of *Sylla*, That in him he had to encounter both a Fox and a Lion; but that the Lion gave him much less Trouble than the Fox.

*Sylla* being now sure of a great Number of *Scipio's* Soldiers, presented himself before his Camp at the Head of Twenty Cohorts. The Soldiers upon Guard, instead of charging him, saluted him, and call'd him their General, admitting him at the same Time into the Camp. He made himself Master of the whole, without drawing a Sword: And all this was so suddenly executed, that *Scipio* knew nothing of it, till he was arrested in his own Tent by *Sylla's* Soldiers, who carried him and his Son to their General. *Sylla* wou'd not suffer that any Harm should be done to them. He, on the contrary, us'd all his Endeavours to gain the Consul, and persuade him to declare for him; but finding him unshaken, he generously set him again at Liberty, giving him Leave to go where he shou'd think fit, on Condition that he shou'd not again take upon him the Command of any Forces against him.

This Stratagem having had so good Success, he fancied he might deal as well with *Norbanus*, the other Consul. He sent Deputies to him to demand



Idem.  
App. *ibid.*

mand a Conference: But *Norbanus*, grown wise by the Miscarriage of his Colleague, detain'd those Deputies, and march'd his Army that Moment to *Sylla's* Camp, with a Design to fall upon him unexpectedly: *Sylla* had not Time sufficient upon the Approach of the Enemy, to range his Men in Order of Battel. Yet his Soldiers, no ways daunted, though they had scarce any Thing to direct them but their own Courage, fought with so much Resolution, that *Norbanus*, after having lost more than Seven Thousand of his Men, was forc'd to make a hasty Retreat, very little different from a Flight. He threw himself into *Capua* with the Remains of his Army, with an Intent to defend that Place, if *Sylla* undertook to besiege it.

The Remainder of the Campaign was on both Sides employ'd in secret Negotiations. Each Party endeavour'd to gain the Allies of the other. *Sylla*, a great Master in that Art, sent considerable Sums to the Countries at the very Foot of the *Alps*, in order to gain the *Cisalpine Gauls*; and his Agents brought him thence a powerful Supply. His Enemies, on the other Hand, sent *Sertorius* to *Spain*, who by his Valour made himself Master of part of those large Provinces, which afterwards were a Refuge and Retreat to those of that Party. Young *Marius* at the same Time determin'd the *Samnites* to declare in his Favour. Those People rais'd Forty Thousand Men, and gave the Command of them to *Pontius Telesinus*, the ablest Warrior in their Nation, and who had acquired much Honour in the Confederate War. So powerful a Succour was less occasion'd by their Attachment to *Marius* his Party, than a Consequence of their ancient Jealousy of the Power of the Commonwealth: Being too weak to encounter the united Strength of *Rome*, they did not declare for one Party, but with a View of undoing both the more easily; or at least to weaken a neighbouring

bouring State, that was become too powerful and terrible.

They soon after proceeded to the Election of new <sup>Year of</sup> Consuls at Rome. *Papirius Carbo* was chose for the <sup>Rome,</sup> Third Time; and young *Marius*, the Nephew, <sup>671.</sup> or there say the adopted Son of the great *Marius*, was appointed his Colleague, though he was not yet Six and Twenty Years of Age. They thought it advisable to raise him to that Dignity, notwithstanding it was against Law and Custom, that they might have at the Head of the Party a Person, whose Name was held in great Repute, and the Memory of whose Father might keep the People attach'd to their Interest. The Armies took the Field as soon as the Season would permit in the Spring. *Marius*, at the Head of Eighty Five Cohorts, offer'd Battel to *Sylla*. That General, who had a secret Intelligence in the Enemies Camp, accepted the Challenge. Both Armies fought with great Bravery. The Soldiers were of each Side resolv'd to vanquish, or to die; and Fortune had not yet declared for either, when some Squadrons of *Marius's* Army, and Five Cohorts of his Left Wing, that had been bribed with *Sylla's* Money, caus'd a Confusion by their unseasonable Flight, as they had agreed with *Sylla* to do. Their Example drew many others after them; a general Terror struck the rest of the Army, and it was at last more a Rout than a Battel. Several Cohorts were cut to Pieces. The great Name of *Caius Marius*, the Father, did no ways lessen the Glory of the Son. That young Man show'd in Battel all the Abilities of an old experienc'd General, and the undaunted Courage of a young Officer. He rally'd his Forces several Times, led them on again, and retir'd one of the last from the Field of Battel. At length perceiving that his whole Army was either cut to Pieces, or dispers'd, he threw himself into *Preneſte*, a strong Place, which had declared for his Party. App. ibid. This

This was the greatest Oversight he cou'd have been guilty of; especially since he had yet several Armies that kept the Field, and were at his Command. *Sylla*, who flatter'd himself he shou'd put an End to the War, by taking the General, instantly invested *Præneste*: He caus'd Lines strengthen'd with Redoubts, to be thrown up; and the Circumvallation being perfected, he left the Care of the Blockade to *Lucretius Ofella*, one of his Lientenants, whom he had gain'd over from *Marius* his Party by his Management. *Sylla* post-ed some Troops at all the Defilees, through which Succours might be thrown into the Place; and incamp'd in such a Manner, that he cover'd at the same Time those advanc'd Troops, and the Blockade. He afterwards march'd with a Detachment towards *Rome*: The Favourers of *Marius*, frighten'd at his Defeat, had fled the City. *Sylla* entered without any Opposition. The Inhabitants, famish'd and oppress'd with all the Calamities that attend a Civil War, open'd him the Gates. *Sylla*, having made himself Master of the Place, call'd the People together, complain'd of their having suffer'd themselves to be misled by the Malice of his Enemies; and after having expos'd to Sale the Goods of *Marius*'s Followers, he return'd to his Army, to try by the taking of that Captain, to put an End to the Civil War. *Marius*, in Despair for having shut himself up in *Præneste*, and deliver'd himself, as it were, into the Hands of his Adversary, attributed the Cause of all his Misfortunes to a secret Correspondence which *Sylla* had kept up among his Adherents. He sent an Order to *Brutus*, Prætor of *Rome*, to make away with such as he suspected; and the Prætor, in Obedience to that cruel Proscription, caus'd *L. Domitius*, *Mutius Scaevola*, the High-Priest, and an excellent Lawyer, and *P. Aufidius*, to be stabb'd as they came out of the Senate. People were astonish'd.

astonish'd to find *C. Carbo*, Brother to the Consul, included in this Proscription. It is probable, that *Ap. Alex. Marius* wou'd not have order'd, nor *Brutus* dared to have executed that Command, without the Knowledge and Consent of the Consul himself; at least he shou'd not the least Resentment at it. So true it is, that in the Heat of Civil Wars, the Ties form'd by Nature her self, are too weak to unite those whom Ambition or Interest has divided.

And indeed the Murder of *Carbo*, though by order of *Marius*; and, as it were, in the very Presence of his Brother, did not hinder that Consul from employing all his Industry to raise the Blockade of *Praneste*. It was now become the grand Affair of this War. *Carbo*, having resolv'd to throw Succours into the Place, fought a whole Day against *Sylla's* Army, without succeeding in his Attempt. Whilst they were engaged, *Marcus*, another General of *Marius's* Party, at the Head of Eight Legions, attempted to force the Defilees in another Quarter. But he found *Pompey* in his Way, who repulsed him, and cut Part of his Forces to Pieces. *Metellus* had soon after the same Fortune against *Carbo* and *Norbanus*. Those Two Generals having join'd their Forces, and made a hasty March to come upon him unawares, reach'd his Camp in the Evening, which they immediately attack'd. But *Metellus*, who justly was reputed one of the best Commanders of his Time, made them sensible, that a good General is never to be surpriz'd. He had placed his Camp on a Ground surrounded with thickset Vines, which serv'd him for Pallisadoes. *Carbo* and *Norbanus* attack'd this Camp with greater Heat than good Order. Their Soldiers, embarras'd in those Vines, cou'd not form themselves into Battalions; and for that Reason were in some Disorder, when they reach'd the Foot of the Intrenchments. *Metellus's*

*tellus's* Soldiers from the Top of those Intrenchments, kill'd a great many with their Darts; and seeing them broke, they made a Sally, where a great many more were slain. The Darkneſs of the Night hid the Shame of thoſe that fled; and Six Thouſand, that cou'd not readily enough diſentangle themſelves out of thoſe Vines, ſurrendred to *Metellus*. Another Legion that was near *Metellus's* Camp, upon the News of that Deſeat, follow'd their Example in ſpite of *Albinovanus*, who commanded it, and who alone return'd to *Norbanus*. But he did not long continue thus faithful; as if his Return was with no other Intent, than to betray his General in a yet more infamous Manner. He ſome Time after invited *Norbanus* to a Banquet, together with his Lieutenants *C. Appianus* and *Flavius Fimbria*, Brother of him that kill'd himſelf in *Aſia*. He invited to the ſame Entertainment the chief Officers of the Party; and in the Middle of the Banquet, he cauſ'd them all to be murder'd, except the General, whom ſome Buſineſs had prevented from coming. After ſo baſe an Action, the Aſſaſſin went to ſurrender himſelf to *Sylla* with all the Accomplices of his Crime. *Norbanus*, quite Hopeleſs, after ſo many Miſfortunes, and not longer knowing who to truſt, went on board a ſmall Smack, which carried him to *Rhodes*. *Sylla* ſent immediately to demand him of the *Rhodians*: And whilſt the Magiſtrates were deliberating what to do in ſo nice an Affair, *Norbanus*, fearing to be deliver'd into the Hands of his Enemy, kill'd himſelf in the Middle of the publick Place.

App. *ibid.*App. *ibid.*

*Carbo* met with no better Fate: He again tried ſeveral Times to give *Marius* an Opportunity of getting out of *Praneſſe*, but always miſcarried. *Lucullus*, one of *Sylla's* Lieutenants, who was return'd from *Aſia*, defeated Part of his Army near *Placentia*; and *Pompey* near *Cluſium*, cut to Pieces

Twenty

Twenty Thousand Men, that were left him after so many Encounters. The Consul, not thinking himself strong enough to keep the Field, quitted *Italy*, and imbark'd to pass over into *Africa*. But after having been toss'd to and fro upon the Sea for some Time, he fell into *Pompey's* Hands, who, to cut up the Root of the Civil War, put him to Death. Of that great Number of Chiefs, that had follow'd *Marius's* Party, there remain'd only *Carinas*, *Marcus* and *Damasippus*, who were yet at the Head of Four Legions. These *Romans*, being obstinately resolv'd to continue the War, join'd *Telefinus*, General of the *Samnites*. They together agreed to make a last Effort, and either to perish, or to relieve *Præneste*. *Telefinus* advanc'd boldly with a Design to force the Lines. He had above Sixty Thousand Men, all *Samnites*, and sworn Enemies of the *Roman* Name, or *Roman* Soldiers, who cou'd expect no Safety, but by the Defeat of the opposite Party. *Sylla*, at the Head of a victorious Army, advanc'd to meet them; and he sent Orders to *Pompey*, who commanded another Body, to follow *Telefinus*, and to fall on his Rear, whilst he shou'd attack him in Front. But whilst these Two Generals were making these Movements, *Telefinus* outwitting them both, gave them the Slip; and by a Counter-March during the whole Night, advanc'd towards *Rome*, which he knew to be Defenceless. His Army, in hopes to plunder that mighty City, march'd with so much Eagerness, that their Van was discover'd in the Morning from the Hills near *Rome*. Never was a Surprise equal to that of its Inhabitants. They saw themselves just going to fall a Prey to an Army of Strangers, who, under Pretence that *Sylla* had been admitted therein, wou'd not fail of revenging their deserting their Party with the Massacre of all the Citizens, and Plunder of the whole Town. The Gates are immediately shut; the

Plur. in  
Sylla.

Men arm themselves, and line the Walls with Engines and Archers, whilst the Women, all in Tears, run to the Temples, to implore the Assistance of the Gods. Fear and Disorder increases, as *Telesinus* comes nearer to the City. He was a Second *Hannibal* at the Gates of *Rome*, and already thought himself Master of it. He then pull'd off the Mask; he no longer conceals that implacable Hatred which he bore the *Romans*: As much an Enemy to *Marius* as to *Sylla*, his Design was to destroy *Rome*, and to bury the very last of its Inhabitants under the Ruins. He walk'd through all the Lines and Ranks of his Army; *We must*, said he, *cut down that Forest, where those ravenous Wolves take Shelter. Let Fire and Sword destroy all; spare nothing: Mankind can never be free, as long as any Romans shall be left alive.* His Troops, fired by this Discourse, advance furiously. All the *Roman* Youth that were in the City made a Sally, under the Conduct of *Appius Claudius*; not so much to hinder the Approach of so powerful an Army, as to defer the Ruin of the City, and to give Time to *Sylla* to come to its Assistance. The *Romans* behaved themselves like Men who fight for the Defence of their Country, in the Sight of their Fellow-Citizens, of their Wives, and of their Children. *Appius* was slain in this Action; and those that fought under him could now expect no better Fate, considering the Inequality of their Forces, when Seven Hundred Horse were seen to enter *Rome*, whom *Sylla* had commanded to hasten on a full Gallop, and throw themselves into the City. They were no sooner arriv'd, but they march'd out at another Gate, and join'd those that were engag'd with the foremost of the *Samnites*. *Sylla* was marching up with all the Diligence which his Infantry would permit; and he was in the greatest Agony and Concern, when he consider'd that *Rome*, the Price of all his Victories, was in Danger

ger of falling into the Hands of Strangers. At last he arriv'd about Noon, and encamp'd near the Temple of *Venus*. Hardly had he granted a few Minutes to his Soldiers to recover themselves of their Fatigue, when he call'd them again to Arms, and regulated the Order of Battel. He gave the Command of the Right Wing to *M. Crassus*. The Left he chose for himself. Most of his Officers endeavour'd to persuade him to put off the Battel till next Day. They represented to him, that on the Success of this Undertaking depended his whole Fortune; That his Troops, fatigued by a hasty March, had occasion for Rest, especially being to fight against the *Samnites* and *Lucanians*, warlike Nations, from whom the *Romans* never got any Thing but Blows. But *Sylla*, over-rul'd by his Courage, order'd to sound to Battel, and march'd directly against the Enemy. The Fight was bloody and obstinate, chiefly on the Left Wing, where he himself commanded. The *Samnites* fought with an uncommon Valour, push'd his Forces, and broke them. Several Cohorts, and entire Legions, not able to bear their Shock, gave way, and fled. *Sylla* hastens to rally them; he presents himself Sword in Hand before the Runaways to stop them. But the Soldier frighted, has no Regard to any Command; every one, to save his Life, endeavours to get into *Rome*. The Inhabitants, fearing lest the Victor should enter together with the Vanquish'd, shut the Gate on that Side, and let fall the Portcullis, which kill'd several Senators of *Sylla's* Army. It is reported, that that General, in this imminent Danger, took out of his Bosom a Medal, or a small Statue of *Apollo*, which he constantly carried about him; and as Danger and Fear usually awaken Religious Sentiments, 'tis said, that he made the following Speech to it, as to his Tutelar God. O thou who hast brought off *Cornelius Sylla* victorious

out



out of so many Battels; Hast thou conducted him through so many Victories, to the very Gates of his Native City, with no other End, than there to make him perish with Shame? He then rally'd those of his Soldiers that had been shut out of the City Gate. They, though frightened, but forced by Necessity, faced the Enemy again. The Fight began again with fresh Fury, nothing but Night parted them. Sylla, disconsolate at his ill Success, and not knowing how Things had fell out at the Right Wing, retired to his Camp.

It was late in the Night, when Crassus sent him Word, that he had overcome the Enemy on his Side, and pursued them as far as *Antenna*; where, because of the Night, he had been forc'd to encamp. Sylla went thither by break of Day; and after having given to his Lieutenant, and his Troops, all the Praises which so great a Service deserv'd, he went to view the Field of Battel, which he found covered with more than Fifty Thousand Slain. Among the rest, they took Notice of the Body of *Telefinus*, wherein were yet seen the Marks of that great Courage and Fierceness which he had shown during the Battel. Eight Thousand were taken Prisoners, whom Sylla instantly caus'd to be shot to Death with Darts.

App. ibid. *Marcus* and *Carinas*, having been stopped in their Flight, had their Heads cut off; and Sylla sent them to *Lucretius*, as Proofs of his Victory, and with Orders to have them carried round the Walls of *Praneste*. The Inhabitants and the Garrison, having heard of this Defeat, and of the Flight of *Norbanus* and *Carbo*, and seeing themselves without any Provisions or Prospect of Relief, opened their Gates. *Marius* endeavoured to make his Escape through some subterraneous Passages, together with a young *Samnite*, Brother of *Telefinus*. But having found all the Issues of them that open'd in the Country, guarded by some of Sylla's Soldiers,

diers, those Two Chiefs kill'd each other, that they might not fall alive into the Hands of their Enemies. *Sylla* caus'd all the Inhabitants to be put to Death, except the Women and Children. Those of the Town of *Norbe*, who, after a long Siege, and an obstinate Resistance, saw themselves just going to undergo the same Fate, set Fire to their Habitation, and then kill'd one another, not only that they might deprive the Soldiets of the Plunder, but also not to leave it in *Sylla's* Power to dispose of their Lives. The taking of this Place put an End to the Civil War; and *Sylla*, victorious over so many different Enemies, entred *Rome* at the Head of his Troops. Happy had he been, if in Peace he had preserv'd the Glory that he had now acquir'd in War, or if he had ceas'd to live at the same Time he ceas'd to conquer!

*Sylla's* Lieutenants made themselves Masters of all the Cities in *Italy*, and put strong Garisons in all those Places that had formerly declared for *Marius*. What was left of so many Armies, that had been oppos'd to *Sylla*, sent him Deputies, desiring Quarter. He sent them word, that he would spare those who should make themselves worthy of it, by putting their Companions to Death: A way of proscribing entirely new, which oblig'd those unfortunate Men to turn their Arms against each other. A great Number were destroy'd in this Manner. Six Thousand, that escap'd this Massacre, came to *Rome*. *Sylla* caus'd them to be shut Plur. in up in the *Hipodrome*; and at the same Time Sylla, summon'd the Senate to the Temple of *Bellona*, which was in that Neighbourhood. As he was naturally eloquent, he spoke of his great Exploits in very magnificent Terms. Whilst all the Senate was hearkening to his Speech, his Troops, by his Command, entred the *Hipodrome*, and massacred the Six Thousand just mention'd. The Senate unacquainted

quainted with his Orders, amazed at the Cry of those unfortunate Men that were murdering, look'd aghast, thinking that he had delivered up the whole City to be plunder'd by his Soldiers. But *Sylla*, without being moved, or altering his Countenance, told them coldly, they need not be uneasy at what they heard without; that it was only a Pack of Villains, whom his Soldiers were punishing by his Order. Thus he talked of the Troops of the contrary Party; and we are told, that in the next Assembly of the People, he declared with a severe and haughty Mien, that he design'd to treat all his Enemies in the like Manner, and would not pardon one, of what Condition soever; and in departing from the Assembly, he caused the Names of Forty Senators, and of Sixteen Hundred Knights, whom he proscribed, to be put up in the Market-Place.

Two Days after, he proscribed Forty Senators more, and an infinite Number of the richest Citizens of *Rome*. He declar'd the Sons and Grandsons of those that he had proscrib'd infamous, and deprived of all their Rights and Privileges. By a publick Decree he ordained, That whoever should protect or harbour one of the proscribed, should be themselves proscribed in their Stead. He set a Price upon the Heads of all that were proscribed, and promised Two Talents for the Murder of each of them. Slaves, that had assassinated their Masters, received the same Reward for their Treason; and, to the Shame of Human Kind be it spoken, Children were found so barbarous, as with their bloody Hands to claim that Reward, for having murdered their own Fathers. *Lucius Catiline*, who to possess his Brother's Estate, had caused him to be killed, desired *Sylla*, whose Adherent he was, that he would be pleased to set down that Brother, whom he had killed a long while before, among the attainted, that by that Stratagem he might

Plut. in  
*Sylla*.

might palliate his enormous Crime. *Sylla* having granted him his Request, *Cataline*, to show him his Gratitude, went that Moment to *Marcus Marius*, Brother to the great *Marius*, kill'd him, and brought his Head to the Publick Place. While his Hands were yet besmear'd with the Blood of that unfortunate Man, he entred the Temple of *Apollo*, which was near, and washed them in the lastral Water, that he might add Impiety and Sacrilege to Murder and Assassination.

This cruel Proscription did not reach only those of *Marius's* Party. *Sylla*, who counted a Man's Life for nothing, permitted his Friends and Officers with Impunity to revenge themselves of all their private Enemies. Great Wealth became a Crime; and whoever had the Name of being Rich, was not innocent. *Quintus Aurelius*, a peaceable Citizen, who had always lived in a happy Obscurity, without being taken Notice of, either by *Marius* or *Sylla*, perceiving, to his great Astonishment, that his Name was down in the fatal List, where the Names of the proscribed were wrote, lamenting himself, said, *Ab me, unhappy Wretch! It is my fine House at Alba that causes my Death.* And a few Paces farther he was assassinated by one who had undertaken to do it. Every Day fresh Numbers were proscribed and murdered, and no body was sure of living a Day. In this general Calamity, *C. Metellus* alone took Courage to ask *Sylla* in the full Senate, when he design'd to put a Stop to those cruel and destructive Proceedings. *We do not require*, said he, *that you should* Plus. ibid.  
*forgive any of those that you have resolved shall die; but pray free us from an Uncertainty worse than Death it self, and let us know at least, who it is you design to spare.* *Sylla*, without seeming to take that bold Speech any ways amiss, answered him very coolly, That he had not yet fixed the Number of those he design'd to give their Lives to. But that as

to the others, he had at first proscrib'd such as his Memory presented to him; that he reserv'd to himself the Liberty of doing the same for the future, just as his Memory should continue to suggest to him the Names of his Enemies. He afterwards proscribed whole Nations and Towns, instead of naming any private Persons. He seiz'd by a sort of Confiscation, on all the Estates, Houses and Territories of all the Towns in *Italy*, that had declared for *Marius* during the Civil War. He therewith rewarded his Soldiers, whom thereby he the stronger attached to his Fortune and Interest. But as those Usurpations, and several others to be mention'd hereafter, were not likely to be very lasting, those that had the Benefit of them insinuated to him, that he should take upon him the Dictatorship, in order to give the Force of the Law, and a Colour of Right to the Alterations he made in the Republick.

We have said therefore, that after the *Romans* had abolish'd Kingly Government, they yet had preserv'd in some Sense, the Likeness of that Dignity in that of the Dictatorship. The Power of that Sovereign Magistrate was Boundless. The Authority of the Consuls, and other inferior Magistrates, except that of the Tribunes, was entirely superseded by it. He had Power of Life and Death over his Fellow-Citizens; he was free to raise and to disband Forces when he thought proper, and without being bound to give Reasons of his Conduct to any body. Four and Twenty Lictors, carrying the Fasces, walk'd before him, when he went Abroad; and the General of the Horse followed him every where. The Nomination of that Office was entirely in the Dictator, and he was in the Nature of his Lieutenant. In a word, the Dictator had all the Power and Show of a King. But as he might have made a wrong Use of so absolute a Power, perhaps greater than

than ever the ancient Kings of *Rome* had, no body was invested with that Dignity, but in the greatest Dangers of the Commonwealth; as when it was attack'd by powerful Enemies; or was disturb'd by great intestine Commotions; and Care was taken never to invest any body with that Power, so much fear'd by Commonwealth's Men, for a longer Time than Six Months at most. *Sylla*, absolute in *Rome*, would have it for an undetermin'd Time. And thus did the *Romans*, who had chang'd Kingly Government into the Republican, under Consuls and Military Tribunes, relapse again, after many Ages, under the absolute Power of One. Though *Sylla*, to lessen the Aversion Republicans must have to such a Government, had mask'd over a true Royalty with the less odious Title and Dignity of the Dictatorship.

Cicer. in  
Rulliana.  
tertia.  
Id. l. i. de  
Legibus.

But the *Romans* were too clear-sighted, not to perceive, that under ancient and familiar Names there was arisen a Power quite new, and inconsistent with Liberty. *Sylla*, being perpetual Dictator, or, to speak more properly, the King and absolute Sovereign of *Rome*, altered at his own Pleasure the Constitution and Form of Government. He abrogated ancient Laws, created new ones, made himself Master of the Publick Treasure, and disposed in a despotick Manner of all the Estates and Fortunes of his Fellow-Citizens, whom he consider'd upon the Foot of his other Conquests. *Crassus* alone obtain'd the better Part of them. That Man, who was afterwards called the richest of all the *Romans*, was not asham'd to ask of him the forfeited Estates of the proscrib'd, or to buy their Estates at very low Rates, when they were sold publicly in the Forum. *Sylla*, who was as liberal towards his Friends, as he was hard and unmoveable towards his Enemies, took a Pleasure in lavishing the Treasures of the Commonwealth upon those who had devoted themselves to his For-

Plur. in  
Crasso.

tune and Party. But then he expected in their Hands an entire and blind Submission. Pompey, by his Order, put from him his Wife, call'd *Antistia*, Daughter of the Senator *Antistius*, whom young *Marius* had put to Death; and was oblig'd to marry *Emilia*, Daughter in Law to *Sylla*, born of a former Marriage of his Wife *Metella* with *Scourus*. It was by virtue of the same Sovereign Power, which he exercis'd indifferently over all the *Romans*, that he strove to compel *Julius Caesar*, Nephew of *Marius*, to be divorc'd from his Wife *Gornelia*, Daughter of *Cinna*. But *Caesar*, though but a Youth, had the Boldness to resist him. He even presented himself with a surprizing Confidence in the Assembly of the People, demanding to be declar'd Priest of *Jupiter*. *Sylla* not only caus'd him to be rejected, but resolv'd besides to proscribe him. It was not without a great deal of Trouble that his Friends obtain'd his Pardon; and as they told *Sylla*, that he could have nothing to fear from such a Youth, it is said, he answer'd, That in that Man, as young as he was, he could discern a great many *Marius's*. The Relations and Friends of *Caesar* hearing of this Reply, and knowing how much *Sylla* hated all that had any the least Relation with *Marius*, perswaded him to leave *Rome*, whither he did not return till after the Death of *Sylla*.

From these domestick Cares the Dictator pass'd to the Civil Government, and the regulating of the Senate. He gave Entry into that Body to Three Hundred Knights, to fill up the room of that vast Number of Senators that had perish'd in the Civil War, or by his Proscriptions. But that he might at the same Time lessen the Authority of the Knights, he took from them the Right of enquiring into the Crimes of Extortion and Peculate, which *Caius Gracchus* had conferr'd on them. He at the same Time increas'd the Number of *Pl-*  
*bians*

*beians* with Ten Thousand Slaves, who had belong'd to Persons proscrit'd, giving them the Name of *Cornelians*, that they might ever remember the Author of their Liberty. He afterwards published several Laws, some of which were new, and others the same which he had formerly pass'd during his Consulship, and which had been abrogated by *Marius* and *Cinna*. His principal Design was to repress the Ambition of such who attempted at once to arrive to the chief Dignities of the State, and to lessen, at the same Time, the Authority of the Tribunes of the People, whom he had always greatly opposed. He ordained by the first of those Laws, that no body should be admitted to the Office of Prætor, who had not been a Quæstor before; and that no Citizen should be chosen Consul, but who had been Prætor before; nor obtain the same Dignity a Second Time, till Ten Years after the first Time. By a Second Law he excluded those who should have been Tribunes of the People, from all other Magistracies; which made that Dignity, which used to be the next after the Dictatorship, and the most powerful in the Commonwealth, very little regarded.

He had these Laws pass'd in Assemblies of the *Roman* People. They all voted for them; no body durst be of an Opinion contrary to that of the Dictator; and the Example of *Lucretius* *Ofella* show'd, how dangerous it was either to oppose him, or not tamely to submit. *Lucretius* was one of *Sylla's* Lieutenants, who had done him some of the most important Services. It was he who had besieged and taken *Præneste*, and reduc'd *Marius* the younger to the fatal Necessity of killing himself. That Officer aspired to be chosen Consul, though he had never been Prætor. *Sylla* sent him word to forbear insisting on his Pretensions, as being contrary to the new Laws he had establish'd. *Lucretius* relying on his Services, did not



imagine that those new Laws ought to affect Sylla's Lieutenants; and having a powerful Party among the People, he appear'd on the Day of Election as one of the Candidates. Sylla offended at his Proceeding, caused him to be stabb'd on the Spot by one of his Captains. The People, ignorant of the Cause of this Murder, fell upon that Officer, and dragg'd him before the Dictator to have him punish'd. Sylla commanded him to be set at Liberty, and directing his Speech to the People: *Know, Romans, (said he) That it was by my special Command that Man was kill'd, because he refused to obey me; and that every one shall meet with the same Treatment, who shall offer to transgress my Laws and Ordinances.* The People, frightned to see themselves under so tyrannical a Government, went Home.

App. Alex.  
l. 2. c. 2.  
Plut. in  
Sylla.

However, this Man, who had usurp'd so absolute a Power; and who, to arrive thereat, had undergone so many Hazards, and fought so many Battels, took it all on a sudden in his Head to lay it down again. Sylla, after having destroy'd more than an Hundred Thousand of his Fellow-Citizens in the Civil War, after having caused Ninety Senators, of which Fifteen had been Consuls, and more than Six and Twenty Hundred Knights, to be massacred; that Man, I say, whose chief Passion had been Revenge, and who had satiated it with such a prodigious Quantity of Blood, was daring enough to divest himself of the Sovereign Power. He laid down the Dictatorship, and un-compell'd, reduc'd himself to a Level with a private Citizen, without fearing the Resentment of so many illustrious Families, the Heads of which he had destroy'd by his cruel Proscriptions. On the contrary, it is related, that immediately upon laying down the Dictatorship, he cry'd out aloud in the middle of the *Forum*, that he was ready to  
give

give an Account of his whole Administration. He at the same Time sent away his Lictors, dismiss'd his Guards, and after that continued walking in the *Forum* with some of his Friends, and before the Multitude ; who, struck with Astonishment, look'd on so unexpected a Change, as on a Prodigy. In the Evening he return'd home by himself, and like a private Man ; no one among that great Number of Enemies he had created himself, daring to insult him. There was in that prodigious City but one young hair-brain'd Fellow, who publicly affronted him ; who follow'd him as far as his House, calling him Names. *Sylla* disdain'd to return him any Answer ; and only in a manner prophetically said, That the Insolence of that young Fellow would be the Cause, that if any body after him arriv'd to the same Degree of Power, he would not lay it down so easily as he had just done. The *Romans* in general deemed this so surprizing Abdication to be the greatest and last Effort of Magnanimity and Heroism. His Proscriptions were forgot : They gladly forgave him his many Murders, for the Sake of Liberty which he restor'd to his Country.

His Enemies, on the other hand, attributed so great a Change to the natural Uneasiness of his Mind, and the continual Fear that some *Roman* might be bold enough, at one Stroke, to deprive him of the Empire and Life too. Whatever was the true one among all these different Motives, *Sylla*, after having shed so much Blood, died as quietly in his Bed, as the most peaceable Citizen of the Commonwealth could have hop'd to do. He compos'd his own Epitaph a few Days before he died ; and therein we find his true Character. It was thus in Substance : *That no body had ever out-done him, either in Obliging his Friends, or in Persecuting his Enemies.*

His abdicating the Dictatorship show'd, that Ambition and Desire of Reigning had not been his predominant Passion; and that he had seiz'd on the Sovereign Power, only that he might more surely revenge himself on his Enemies. But the dangerous Example of a simple Citizen, who had found Means to raise himself to Empire, and maintain himself therein, made those that follow'd him sensible, *That the Romans cou'd bear a Master*; which was the Ground of more Revolutions.

Scarce were the Eyes of *Sylla* clos'd, but *M. Emilius Lepidus*, first Consul, undertook, in Imitation of him, to render himself Master of the Government. But tho' his Ambition might be equal to so great an Undertaking, neither his Credit nor his Abilities were sufficient. He was a Man little esteem'd by the Soldiery; more a Courtier, than a Commander; a deep Dissembler; and one who had rais'd himself, by doing many little and ungenerous Things. Tho' he had declar'd himself for the Nobility, who seem'd to him the most powerful Party; or, to speak more properly, tho' he had stoop'd to *Sylla's* absolute Authority; the Dictator, who knew him perfectly well, and mistrusted him, would never suffer him to be chosen Consul. But after he had laid down the Dictatorship, *Pompey*, who now bore the greatest Sway, deceiv'd by the feign'd Attachment of *Lepidus*, openly favour'd his Election: And on the Day of the *Comitia*, he caus'd him to be nominated first Consul, preferably to *Q. Catulus*, his Collegue, and Son of that Consular whom *Marius* had put to Death.

It is related, That when *Sylla* saw *Pompey* returning from the Election with a joyful Countenance, and pleas'd that *Lepidus*, whom he thought his Creature, not only was elected, but had also had the Preference above *Catulus*; he said to him aloud, *Are not you ashamed, young Man, to applaud your self for*

*Fear of  
Rome,  
675.*

*Plut. in  
Sylla.*

for having got such a Man as *Lepidus* chosen First Consul; and that to the Prejudice of *Catulus*, one of our best Citizens? He afterwards warn'd him, That he must expect to find in *Lepidus* at best a very weak and doubtful Friend; and perhaps a dangerous Enemy; who, if he could find his Advantage in it, would turn even against his Benefactor that Authority, which his Imprudence had procur'd him.

The Conduct of *Lepidus* soon made it plain, that *Sylla* was no ways mistaken in his Character, notwithstanding he had very much endeavour'd to conceal himself. But he had scarce taken Possession of the Consulship, when it was discern'd that he endeavour'd, by sowing new Divisions, to make himself Master of the Sovereign Power, and usurp the same Authority as *Sylla* had done.

We have seen more than once in this History, that the Great Men of *Rome* had commonly, to gratify their Ambition, made use of one of these Two Pretences; viz. the Interest of the People, or that of the Senate. Both ways were open to *Lepidus*. It is true, that, as we observ'd before, to accommodate himself to the present State of the Commonwealth, he had declar'd for the *Patrician* Party: But those were weak Ties for an aspiring Man. And besides, as he found that *Pompey*, *Metellus*, *Crassus*, and even his Collegue *Catulus*, all Men of more Weight and Credit than himself, were the Chiefs of that Party; he thought that he shou'd have a greater Number of Adherents, if he went over to *Marius* his Party, most of whose Chiefs had been destroy'd in the Civil War, and which subsisted no where but in the ancient Antipathy of the *Plebeians* against the *Patricians*. It was in order to revive that Party, that he propos'd to abolish some of the Laws made by *Sylla*. *Catulus*, his Collegue in the Consulship, oppos'd him with a great deal of Courage and Resolution. The Two Parties thereupon declar'd each for one of the  
Con-

Consuls. *Lepidus*, to strengthen his Party, and bring over the Nations of *Italy* to his Side, sent them word, That he design'd to reinstate them in the Five and Thirty Ancient Tribes, and restore to them those Lands, which the Dictator had taken from them to reward his Army. This Declaration did not fail of increasing his Party very much. *Rome* saw her self again on the Brink of being the Theatre of a Civil War: But the Senate interpos'd its Authority, and made both Consuls promise upon Oath, that neither should take up Arms against the other during their Consulate.

App.

L. l. c. 25.

Plut. in

Pompeio.

*Lepidus* thought himself disengaged of his Oath as soon as his Consulate expir'd, at which Time the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina* was allotted to him. He immediately began to raise an Army there, and got into his Party *Brutus* and *Perperna*, both Prætorians; who each had the Command of a considerable Body of Forces, and were incamp'd near *Modena*. *Lepidus*, strengthen'd with this Supply, and seeing no Army in *Italy* that cou'd withstand his, march'd strait to *Rome*, in hopes of being a Second *Sylla*, if he could make himself Master of the City. The Senate, appriz'd of his March and Designs, put themselves in a Condition to keep him out. Legions were soon list'd. *Catulus*, who was appointed General, incamp'd without the Gates. *Lepidus*, to swell his Party, caus'd some Papers to be spread about in *Rome*; wherein he invited the People, and *Marius's* Party, to come out to join him. But as they had no great Opinion of his Abilities nor Courage, and that the People moreover could not brook the Design of incorporating the *Italians* into the ancient Tribes; not a Man stirr'd in his Behalf. Yet as he was too far advanc'd to go back again, it soon came to a Battle; and *Catulus*, at the Head of the Legions, and of all the Nobility then in *Rome*, charg'd him so briskly, that after but a short Resistance, he cut

Part

Part of his Army to pieces, and forc'd the other to run away. *Lepidus*, in Despair at this ill Success, App. L. 1. after having wander'd about some Time in Dis- c. 25. guize, and been forc'd to conceal himself in several Parts of *Italy*, at last went over to *Sardinia*, where he had some Friends. *Perpenna*, one of his Lieutenants, went afterwards to him, with the Remains of his Army. Several of *Marius's* Party likewise join'd him. He made new Levies: He grew insensibly more considerable; and in a little while saw himself again at the Head of a new Army. His Design was to carry the War into *Sicily*; where he had secret Correspondents. But soon afterwards, News was brought that he died of Grief; having intercepted a Letter, which left him no room to doubt of his Wife's Disloyalty. His Party fell with him. *Brutus* had met with no better Fate. That Captain, not being able to get into *Sicily*, and join *Lepidus*, had thrown himself into *Modena*, with some Troops that were under his Command; less with a Design to continue the War, than to have Time to compound and obtain better Terms. And indeed, *Pompey* having Orders to besiege him there; no sooner appear'd before the Place, but *Brutus* open'd him the Gates, and made no other Agreement, than to have the Liberty to retire in Safety to a little Village upon the Banks of the *Po*. *Pompey* consented. He even wrote to the Senate, that the Quickness of *Brutus's* Submission had ended the War. Yet, in Violation of the Treaty and his Word, he sent *Ruffians* a few Days after, to stab him in that very Village which he had chose for his Retreat: Whether because he learn'd that he was again secretly Caballing with *Lepidus*; or whether that young General, train'd up in the cruel Politicks of *Sylla*, thought it unsafe to let any Chief of that Party live. *Perpenna*, after the Death of those Two Chiefs, got together the Remains of their Army; and finding himself

Plut. ibid.

at

at the Head of Fifty Three Cohorts, he march'd them into *Spain*. His Design was to settle there, to make War on his own Account, and without depending upon any Superior; following herein the Example of *Sertorius*, a General of great Fame, who yet maintain'd the Party of *Marinus* in *Lusitania*.

*Sylla* had caus'd the Government of those vast Provinces to be given to *Metellus*, one of his Lieutenants. The Senate, fearing he would not be able to withstand those Two Chiefs, if they join'd their Forces, sent *Pompey* to his Assistance with fresh Succours. *Pompey*, in whom the Senate confided entirely, and who, since *Sylla's* Death, was reputed the first General of the Commonwealth, soon began his March, and carry'd with him those very Troops, that so often had defeated those of *Marinus's* Party. The Soldiers of *Perpenna*, who had no great Opinion of his Military Skill, hearing that *Pompey* was coming against them, took their Arms and their Ensigns, and, without asking *Perpenna's* Advice, cry'd out, That it behov'd them to join *Sertorius*: That they had Occasion for so experienc'd a Warrior to command 'em; And that if he refus'd to conduct 'em to his Camp, they would find the way to it themselves, and carry their Ensigns along with them. *Perpenna* was enrag'd at this general Defection; But not thinking himself safe any where but with the Companions of his Rebellion, he was forc'd to follow 'em. He arriv'd at *Sertorius's* Camp; and from an absolute and independent General, he found himself compell'd by his own Soldiers to be content to act as an inferior Commander. The Junction of *Pompey* with *Metellus*, and that of *Perpenna* with *Sertorius*, gave a new Life to the War. *Sertorius*, who was as bold as he was experienc'd, had commonly the Advantage, chiefly over *Pompey*; whom the Desire of distinguishing himself, and the Fear of dividing his

Plur. ibid.

Plut. in  
Sert.

his Glory, usually separated from *Metellus*. That young General, whose Reputation was at such a Pitch at *Rome*, had even the Displeasure to be a Looker on at the taking and burning of the Town of *Lawron* by *Sertorius*, after having in vain attempted to relieve it.

It is said, That having engag'd himself too far, and minding only the Army that was forming the Siege before him, he saw upon the adjacent Hills Troops of Mountaineers, who appear'd all of a sudden, and by their Excursions into the Vales, hinder'd him from extending his Army, and foraging : So that he that was come to raise the Siege, found himself in a manner besieg'd and invested by those numerous Parties ; which oblig'd him to keep very close. *Sertorius* having shown his principal Officers the Disposition of his Camp, and the different Posts that his Troops possess'd, added, speaking slightly of *Pompey*, That *Sylla's* Scholar was yet raw in his Art ; and he would shortly teach him, That it is more incumbent on the General of an Army to look behind, than before him.

And indeed, *Pompey* fearing lest those Troops of *Sertorius*, upon the Mountains, should grow numerous, and strong enough to cut off his Retreat, resolv'd to march off in Time. He was oblig'd to give over all Thoughts of throwing Succours into the Place. *Sertorius* carry'd it Sword in Hand : And tho' he was not of a cruel Temper, he thought himself oblig'd to set Fire to it ; thereby to deter other Towns in *Spain*, and make them sensible, that *Pompey's* Protection could avail them little against his Power and Resentment.

*Pompey*, extremely concern'd that he could not prevent a Town from being burnt in his Presence, for having chosen his Party, was every Day looking for an Opportunity of taking his Revenge. He thought he had it near *Sucrone* : And tho' *Metellus* was not far off, he fancied himself strong enough



*Tear of  
Rome,  
679.*

enough to defeat the Enemy without his Assistance. He attack'd *Sertorius* in a Plain ; but he (whose *Spanish* Horse out-did the *Roman*) push'd *Pompey* so briskly, that his *Italian* Horse being broke, put his Foot in Confusion and Disorder. *Pompey* narrowly escap'd being taken ; and his Army had been entirely defeated, if *Metellus* had not advanc'd to his Aid. *Sertorius* seeing the Legions of that old General near, retir'd to his Camp, and said jestingly to his Officers ; *If that old Woman, meaning Metellus, had not rescued her Child out of my Hands, I would have sent him back to Rome to his Relations, after having chastis'd him as he deserv'd.*

*Pompey*, less presuming, and grown a little wiser by his ill Success, judg'd rightly, that he could not without Danger keep separate from *Metellus*. They join'd their Forces : But notwithstanding they were become superior in Number by it, they run continually fresh Hazards where-ever they incamp'd. They had to do with an Enemy, who surpriz'd them sometimes by Day, sometimes by Night. His Troops consisting mostly of *Spaniards* and Mountaineers, active and nimble, attack'd 'em continually, and retreated as expeditiously. The *Roman* Soldiers, heavily arm'd, and accus'tom'd to a close Battel, cou'd never come up with them. *Sertorius* alone had the Direction of all these Skirmishes : It seem'd as if he multiply'd himself : The Two *Roman* Generals always met him at the Head of those that attack'd 'em. If he gain'd any Advantage, he then push'd his Enemy without giving them Time to recover themselves. And if he met with too great a Resistance, and fear'd to be surrounded, his Soldiers, as he had taught 'em, dispers'd immediately several ways. They fled among the Rocks and Mountains ; and upon the least Signal, rally'd again, and came to their General : He then return'd, and charg'd again on another Quarter. It look'd as if they were fresh

*Plut. in  
Sertor.*

fresh Troops, and another Army, which he had found ready to enter upon Action. By this Method of making War, which was favour'd by the Nature of the Country, he never gave any Rest, neither to his Enemy, nor his own Troops.

His Reputation, and the Account of the Advantages which he gain'd every Day against the Two most Eminent Roman Generals, flew as far as *Asia*.

We have already heard, That *Mithridates*, press'd by *Sylla*, had been oblig'd, in order to obtain Peace, to submit to the Law of the Conqueror, and accept of all the Terms which he was pleas'd to dictate; and that the Roman General had put a Stop to his victorious Arms, with no other View, than to be at Liberty to turn them against *Marius*, and his other private Enemies.

*Mithridates*, after *Sylla's* Decease, and during the Civil Wars that disturb'd the Commonwealth, thought he could never renew the War in more favourable Circumstances. He rais'd a powerful Army; and, in order to foment the Civil War, and to keep up a Diversion very advantageous to his Designs, he sent to *Sertorius*, proposing to unite their Interests. His Deputies offer'd him considerable Sums for the Charge of the War, with a Fleet at his own Disposal; on Condition, that he would suffer that Prince to reconquer those Provinces of *Asia*, which the Necessity of his Affairs had forc'd him to give up by the Treaty made with *Sylla*. Plut. ibid.

*Sertorius* call'd a Council. All that were present were of Opinion, That it was scarce Matter for Deliberation: And withal represented to him, That for a Supply so real and so ready as Money and a Fleet, which were offer'd him, he was bound to no other Expence than an empty Consent, requir'd of him, to an Undertaking, which he could no ways hinder. But *Sertorius*, with a Greatness of Soul worthy of a true Roman, protested, That he could never hearken to a Treaty contrary to

the Glory or the Interest of his Country; And that he even scorn'd to obtain a Victory over his private Enemies by unjustifiable Methods. And having sent for *Mithridates's* Ambassadors, he declar'd to them, That he would suffer the King their Master to regain *Bythina* and *Cappadocia*, being Provinces to which the *Romans* had no Right; but that he would never consent he should set a Foot in *Asia Minor*, which belong'd to the Commonwealth; and which he had renounc'd by a solemn Treaty. With this Answer he sent those Deputies back; and it is said, that when *Mithridates* was told it, turning himself to some of his Courtiers, with great Astonishment, he should say; *What would not this Roman prescribe to me, if he was at Rome, since from the remotest Provinces of the Ocean, whither he is banish'd, he presumes to mark out Limits to my Empire?*

Plut. in  
Sert.

However, that Prince knowing how much it import'd him to keep up the Civil War; afterwards concluded the Treaty with *Sertorius* upon those very Terms. The King of *Pontus* supply'd him with Three Hundred Talents, and Forty Ships of War: And *Sertorius* gave the King of *Pontus* a Body of Troops under the Command of *Marius Varius*, one of the Senators proscrib'd by *Sylla*, and who had taken Sanctuary with him.

That Senator, being arriv'd in *Asia*, made the Name and Power of his General respected in all the Places he pass'd through. As if he had been authoris'd by the Senate and the *Roman* People, he discharg'd in their Name most of the Cities from the heavy Load of Taxes that *Sylla* had laid on them. So moderate and politick a Conduct open'd him the Gates of all Places, without striking one Blow; and the very Name of *Sertorius* made more Conquests, than all the Forces of *Mithridates*.

But

But this great Captain, who had escap'd all the Dangers of the War, perish'd by the Treachery of the *Romans* of his own Party. *Perpenna*, who could not forgive him the Authority he had accepted over his Army, and who flatter'd himself he should succeed him, if he could get rid of him, plotted his Ruin; and drew into his Conspiracy several Officers, pretending that *Sertorius* slighted the *Romans*, and confided only in the *Spaniards*. The Conspirators assassinated him at a Banquet. *Perpenna* then took upon him the Command of the Army; but he wanted both the Abilities of his Predecessor, and the Confidence of his Soldiers, who abhor'd his Treachery.

Vell. Pat.  
L. 2.  
App. l. 1.  
de Bell.  
Civ.

*Metellus* and *Pompey* about that Time had been oblig'd to part, to subsist their Cavalry the easier. *Pompey* heard the first of *Sertorius's* Murder, and the Disposition of his Army thereupon. He immediately drew near *Perpenna's* Camp: Part of that General's Army quitted him; the rest, when they were attack'd, made but a feeble Resistance. The whole dispers'd: *Perpenna*, in this general Rout, had nothing left to do, but to run away, and hide himself. He was found in a Thicket. *Pompey* order'd his Head to be cut off instantly; and by his Death ended the *Spanish* War.

Plut. in  
Sert.  
App. de  
Bell. Civ.

*Pompey* return'd with his victorious Army into *Italy*. *Spartacus*, a Gladiator, had excited there a very dangerous War. That Gladiator, a Man of Courage, got out of *Capua*, where he was a Prisoner with Seventy more of his Comrades. He exhorted them rather to sacrifice their Lives for the Defence of their Liberty, than submit tamely to be a Spectacle for the cruel Diversion of their Masters. A great Number of Runaway Slaves join'd him. Licentiousness and Hope of Plunder brought a vast Number of the Populace to him, from all Parts of the Country; so that in a little Time he found himself at the Head of a considerable Ar-

Tear of  
Rome,  
680.  
Cæsar  
Com. l. 1.  
Cic. in  
Manil.  
Flor. l. 3.  
c. 26.  
Val. Max.  
l. 8. c. 6.  
App.  
de bell.  
civ. l. 1.

*Year of  
Rome,  
681.*

my. The Senate, despising *Spartacus*, at first contented themselves with sending *Varinus Glaber* and *P. Valerius*, both Prætors, against him. They even gave them but a small Number of Troops; because they thought it a Shame to send the Legions against Slaves and Robbers, whom the sole Presence of the Magistrate ought to have dispers'd. *Spartacus* cut those Troops to pieces. This Defeat, tho' by a vastly superior Number, caused a Surprise in the Senate equal to their Indignation. It proving a more serious Affair than they at first imagined, *L. Gellius* and *Cornelius Lentulus*, the Consuls, received Orders to take the Field, each at the Head of a considerable Body of Forces. Those Magistrates, no ways imagining that an Army of Slaves and Fugitives durst face the Legions, march'd heedlessly against Enemies whom they despised. *Spartacus* took Advantage of it. He chose his Camp and the Field of Battel, as well as the ablest General could have done; and he led on his Companions, and animated them to fight with such an undaunted Courage, that the *Roman* Soldiers, who thought they were sure of Victory, meeting with an unexpected Resistance, quitted their Colours, and run away. The Consuls got 'em together again, and they fought a second Battel near *Picenum*, but with the same ill Success. The *Romans* fled again; and nothing could any ways palliate so uncommon a Cowardice, but attributing it to a criminal Correspondence with the Enemy. Such great Advantages drew numberless Crowds of People to *Spartacus*; and this Gladiator saw under his Command at one Time no less than an Hundred and Twenty Thousand Men, Shepherds, Banditti's, Slaves, Deserters, all profligate, desperate Fellows, who carried Fire and Sword on all sides, and who in this Rebellion had no other View than an unbridled Licentiousness, and the Impu-

nity

nity of their Crimes. It was now Three Years Year of Rome, 682. that this Domestick War had continued in *Italy*, as much to the Shame, as the Disadvantage of the Commonwealth, when the Senate gave the Conduct thereof to *Licinius Crassus*, one of the greatest Commanders of *Sylla's* Party, and who had had a great Hand in his Victories. Fortune chang'd Sides under so able a General. *Crassus* knew how to make War; and he now did it with Success. He began with restoring the Military Discipline in his Army. The Tenth Man of those Legions, that had in a cowardly manner given way in the preceding Battels, was put to Death. This wholesome Severity made him equally dreaded by his own Soldiers, and those of the Enemy. The Romans well saw, that under this General they must either vanquish or die; and Ten Thousand Men of the Rebels having ventur'd at some Distance from their main Army, for the Convenience of Foraging, he fell upon them unawares, and cut them all to pieces.

He afterwards in a pitch'd Battel defeated their whole Army, and obtain'd a compleat Victory. *Spartacus*, with the rest of his broken Forces, was endeavouring to gain the Sea-side, and to get over into *Sicily*, where a great Number of Slaves made him hope he might retrieve all: But *Crassus* prevented him, cut off his March to the Sea, and invested him in his own Camp. *Spartacus*, despairing of a Retreat, resolv'd once more to try the Fate of a Battel. He drew up his Army with the Skill of a great Captain; he only wanted a better Cause. It is said, that when they brought him a Horse a little before the Onset, he drew his Sword, kill'd him, and turning to his Soldiers, said, *If I gain the Victory, I shall want none; and if we are defeated, I do not design to use any.* He then put himself at the Head of his Infantry. His People, animated by the Example of their General,

Plur. in  
Crasso.

Liv. Epit.  
l. 97.  
Athen. l. 2.  
Eutrop.  
l. 6.  
Cicero in  
Pisopem.

Plut. in  
Crasso.  
Cicer. pro  
Lege Ma-  
nil.

Year of  
Rome,  
683.

ral, fought desperately. Victory was a long while dubious which side to chuse; at last the Valour of the Legions decided the Matter. Great was the Slaughter made of those Vagabonds: *Spartacus*, wounded in the Thigh with a Javelin, defended himself yet a long Time; fighting on his Knees, holding his Buckler in one Hand, and his Sword in the other. At last, pierced with many Wounds, he fell upon a Heap of *Romans* he had sacrificed to his Fury, and of his own Soldiers, who were kill'd at the Feet of their General, in defending him. Those that escap'd the Victor's Sword, fled into the Mountains, and so rally'd again. *Pompey* returning from *Spain*, met with 'em, and easily defeated a Body of Fugitives, without a Chief or a Place of Refuge. Yet to lessen *Crassus's* Glory, and increase his own, he was not ashamed to write to the Senate, That *Crassus* had indeed defeated *Spartacus*, But I (said he in his Letter) have cut up the Root of that War; and exterminated the very last of those Robbers. *Crassus* was highly offended at a Letter, which, in depriving him of the Honour of having ended that War, seem'd wrote to prepare the People for refusing him the Triumph. But as he aim'd at the same Time at being chosen Consul, and that *Pompey* was then all mighty in *Rome*, he conceal'd how much he resented that publick Affront, in a profound Silence. *Pompey* was call'd to the Consulship by the Wishes of the whole *Roman* People. *Crassus*, apprehending that he might get him excluded, intreated him by some common Friends that they might act in Concert, and that he would receive him as his Colleague in that supreme Dignity. *Pompey* well pleas'd to have forc'd him to have recourse to his Credit, profess'd publickly, that he should be as much oblig'd to them for promoting *Crassus's* Election as his own. The Two Parties being united, carry'd all the Votes. *Crassus*, who according to

*Sylla's*

*Sylla's* Laws, had been Prætor before, was chosen Consul; and the same Dignity was conferr'd on *Pompey*, though he was no more than a Knight; had not been so much as Questor; and scarce was Thirty Four Years Old. But this great Reputation, and the Splendor of his Victories, hid these Irregularities: It was thought that a Citizen, who had been honour'd with a Triumph before the Age of Four and Twenty, and before he took Place in the Senate, ought not to be subject to the common Rules.

This was not the sole Occasion, wherein the Esteem or Complaisance of his Fellow-Citizens, and sometimes his own Ambition, placed him above the Laws. It was a Custom in the Commonwealth, that a victorious General that demanded a Triumph, was not to enter the City before he had obtain'd it. By the same Law, every Citizen that pretended to the Consulship, was obliged to be there personally to solicit the Dignity he aspir'd to. It look'd as if *Pompey* and *Crassus* had laid aside their Pretensions to a Triumph, since they had both entred *Rome* to solicit the Consulship. But great was the Surprize of the *Romans* to find, that after their Election they still claim'd it, as if they had remain'd at the Head of their Armies. Till then they had acted in Concert; but as the Affair of the Triumph was liable to Difficulties, and that they were call'd upon to disband their Armies, which were at the Gates of *Rome*; *Crassus*, who had less Regard for *Pompey*, since he was chosen Consul, represented that since *Pompey* had first terminated the *Spanish* War, he ought also first to disband his Army. *Pompey*, on the other Hand, incens'd at *Crassus* for maintaining that he ought to break his Army first, refus'd to comply, on Pretence, that he waited for *Metellus*, who was to triumph with him. These



opposite Pretensions made their Hatred break out. *Pompey* could not bear that *Crassus*, whom he deem'd a much inferior Commander to himself, and who had even obtain'd the Consulate through his Credit only, should dare to enter in Competition with him; and *Crassus*, the richest Man in the Republick, reckon'd his Treasures for Victories, and could not brook to give way to a Man, whose Coffers were not so full as his own. Through those Pretensions the Publick easily saw, that those Two Men, equally ambitious and powerful, had a Mind to keep their Armies on Foot, less to adorn their Triumph, an empty Ceremony, than to maintain the more Power and Authority against each other. The Senate and the People fearing to fall again into the Calamities of a Civil War, besought them to sacrifice their private Resentments to the publick Peace. The People went even so far on a Day of Assembly; as to beg of them on their Knees, that they would be reconcil'd. *Pompey* affected an inflexible Pride, and to the last seem'd unmoveable: *Crassus*, on his Part, shew'd no less Stiffness. But the Priests having declared, that the State was threatned with the most dreadful Calamities, unless the Consuls agreed; *Crassus*, mov'd with Sentiments of Piety, arose first, and presented his Hand to *Pompey*, who afterwards embraced him; and when both had triumph'd, they disbanded their Troops.

Plut. in  
Crass.

This Reconciliation was not so sincere, but that each endeavour'd to strengthen himself, by increasing his Party. It import'd them above all Things to gain the People. *Crassus*, to win their Affections, prepared an Entertainment on a Thousand Tables, whereat he treated the whole City. He at the same Time distributed Corn enough to all the Populace to maintain their Families Three whole Months. The Surprize at such prodigious

Libe-

Liberalities will be less, if it be consider'd, that *Crassus's* Estate amounted to more than Seven Thousand Talents. And it was by such like publick Expences, that the Great Men of *Rome* used to purchase the Votes of the People. *Pompey*, on the other Hand, to outdo *Crassus*, and to bring the Tribunes of the People into his Interests, procur'd such Laws to pass, as restored to them all the Authority they had been depriv'd of by *Sylla*. Without any Regard to the Memory of his General and Benefactor, he reviv'd the Ordinances of *C. Gracchus*, which referred to the Knights the Judgment of Criminal Causes, which *Sylla* had restor'd to the Senate. Thus those ambitious Men, in their Turns, play'd with the Laws, and sometimes enlarg'd the Authority of the Senate, and sometimes that of the People, according as it best suited with their private Interest. It is impossible to express the Transports of Joy the Tribunes show'd at the Recovery of their former Authority. As they chiefly ow'd it to *Pompey*, they tarried not long before they show'd their Gratitude. The War had been decreed against the Pyrates that infested the Coasts of the Commonwealth. They conferr'd the Management of it on *Pompey*, and granted him an absolute Authority by Sea and Land, either to raise Men, or to equip Ships of War.

These Pyrates came originally from the Coasts of *Cilicia*. At first they armed but a few small Barks and Brigantines, which infested the Seas, and took both Merchants or Passengers, whom they made Slaves. Their Number and Boldness increas'd upon their being protected by *Mithridates*, who took them into his Service, whilst he made War against the *Romans*. They fitted out great Ships, form'd very large Fleets, and extended their Cruising all along the Coasts of *Italy*: They

They even made some Descents; pillag'd the richest and most famous Temples; ruin'd the small Towns, and carried their Inhabitants into Slavery. In short, their Power increas'd to such a Height, that they had above a Thousand Ships, divided into several Squadrons, which kept all the Ports of the Commonwealth block'd up; so that scarce any Vessel ventur'd out, without being taken; which had ruin'd Trade entirely.

*Year of  
Rome,  
686.*

*Plut. in  
Pompeio.*

It was against these Pyrates that Pompey was sent. To put him in a Condition to make a suitable Armament, the People, whose Idol he was, decreed him a Power without Restriction. His Commission run in exprefs Terms, that his Authority should extend all over the *Mediterranean*, quite from *Hercules's* Pillars, and as far as Four Hundred *Stadia* into the Land: That he should raise as many Soldiers and Sailors as he thought fit: That he should take whatever Sums he pleased out of the publick Treasury, without being accountable for them; and chuse out of the whole Senate Fifteen Senators to be his Lieutenants, and execute his Orders where he could not be present himself. So absolute an Authority trusted to one single Citizen, gave a great deal of Uneasiness, and even Jealousy to the Senate. Several of that Body openly accused Pompey, that he design'd to engross the whole Sovereignty of the State to himself; and one of the Consuls, provok'd that this Commission had been given him to the lessening of his Prerogative, told him in a sort of threatening Tone, *That by affecting, as he did, to imitate the haughty Behaviour of Romulus, he might perhaps meet with his Fate.*

Catulus, more moderate, took a wiser Method; and in order to dissuade the People from granting so vast a Power to one single Citizen, he began in one of the Assemblies with a Panegyrick upon

*Pompey,*

*Pompey*, and mention'd the most celebrated Actions of that General in the most magnificent Terms. But as if he had been concern'd for his Safety, he was sorry the People should expose the greatest General of the Commonwealth to every Danger that happen'd: *And if you should lose him,* (said he to the People) *What other could you put in his Room?* At which the Multitude, raising their Voices, cried out one and all, *We will put You.* *Catulus*, no longer able to resist the firm Resolution of the whole People, and pleased at the same Time with the honourable Mention they made of his own Courage, retired. Another Senator, call'd *Roscius*, endeavouring to speak after him, was prevented by the Clamours of the People, who would not then bear any Remonstrances on that Head. *Roscius* was reduc'd to explain himself by Signs; and holding up Two of his Fingers, he tried to make them apprehend, that they ought at least to give *Pompey* a Colleague; but all his Endeavours were to no Purpose. The People, even grown angry at the Jealousy and Resistance of the Senate, enlarg'd *Pompey's* Power still more; and it was added to his Commission, that he should be at Liberty to arm Five Hundred Ships, put an Hundred and Twenty Thousand Soldiers on board of 'em for Descents; and be attended by Four and Twenty Senators, and Two Questors.

Thus it was, that this People, so jealous of their Liberty, seduced by their Tribunes, were hastening into Slavery; and it lay wholly in *Pompey's* Power to make himself sole Sovereign of the Commonwealth. But those that rightly knew him, judg'd they had nothing to fear from a Man, who had more Vanity than Ambition, and who was more sensible of the great Name that so honourable a Post gave him, than mindful how to make it lasting and independent upon those who

con-

Cic. pro  
lege Ma-  
nilia.  
Plut. in  
Pomp.  
Vell. l. 2.  
c. 31.

conferr'd it upon him. This War lasted but one Campaign. Pompey having fitted out a large Fleet, defeated that of the Pyrates. He took vast Numbers of those Robbers: But instead of putting them to Death, he banish'd 'em to remote Inland Places, as far distant as possible from the Sea-shore. By which Method, as he enabled them to get a Livelihood, without Robbing, so he prevented them most surely from ever returning to their Pyracy.

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*The End of the Eleventh Book.*

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## B O O K XII.

*Pompey goes into Asia, to put himself at the Head of the Forces commanded by Lucullus. The Interview of those Two Generals. The Reproaches they make each other. They part declar'd Enemies. The Particulars of Cataline's Conspiracy. The ambitious Designs of the Tribune P. Servilius Rullus. Cicero by his Skill and Oratory, gets the Law rejected, which Rullus propos'd concerning the Conquer'd Lands, and wholly defeats Catiline's Party.*

**N**O sooner did the News of the Pyrates be-  
 ing overcome reach Rome, but *Manilius*, Plut. in Pompeio.  
 Tribune of the People, and a Creature of *Pompey*,  
 in order to perpetuate his Authority, propos'd a  
 new Decree, for conferring the Command of the  
 Army against *Mitbridates* upon *Pompey*. Although  
*L. Lucullus*, an excellent Commander, was actually  
 invested with that Employment, and had gain'd  
 a great Reputation in it, this Decree express'd not  
 only that *Pompey* shou'd take upon him the Com-  
 mand of his Army, and the Government of *Asia*,  
 but besides retain his Superintendency over that  
 whole Naval Power, with which he just then had  
 subdued the Pyrates.

This was delivering all the Sea and Land Forces  
 of the State into his Hands: He now only want-  
 ed the Title of King. *Manilius* and *Pompey's* Ad-  
 herents press'd the publishing of this Decree very  
 much. The People, ever blind, and the Tool of  
 the

the Great, were as solicitous for it, as if their All had been at Stake. The Senate, more clear-sighted, look'd on that Decree as the establishing of Tyranny. Yet, when the Day was come, and that *Manlius* propos'd to the Assembly to recal *Lucullus*, and send *Pompey* in his Room, no body offer'd to stir against it: The Fear of so powerful a Man's Resentment restrained almost all the Senators. *Cicero* himself, who was universally acknowledg'd a good Citizen and Patriot, but always fearful, and unsettled in his Resolutions, declar'd for the strongest Side; and made for the Decree that Discourse, which is preserv'd under the Title of *Pro Lega Manilia*. There was none, in so large and numerous a Body, but *Hortensius* and *Catulus* that oppos'd it. *Catulus*, with a great deal of Courage, reproach'd the People with the Injustice they were going to do *Lucullus*: He recounted his Services, and the great Actions he had perform'd during the Course of that War. He told them how by a glorious Victory he had reliev'd the Town of *Cizicum*, when besieg'd by Sea and Land; how he had defeated *Mithridates* in several Battels, and vanquish'd *Tigranes*, the most potent King of *Asia*. But perceiving that the People grew uneasy at his Discourse, he turn'd himself towards the Senate, and raising his Voice, with a Mien full of Indignation; *Let us retire*, said he, *Constrict Fathers, from a City where Tyranny is going to be settled; and let us go seek some Desert, where we may preserve that Liberty which we receiv'd from our Fathers.*

Plut. in  
Pomp.

This generous Discourse made no manner of Impression upon People, who had either sold their Faith to *Pompey*, or who fear'd his Power and Resentment. Thus was the publick Interest, as it always falls out, sacrific'd to private Views. The Decree was confirm'd by all the Tribes; and the People, of their own Accord, conferr'd a greater

Authority on Pompey, than Sylla had usurp'd by an arm'd Force, and exercis'd afterwards during his Dictatorship.

Pompey set out immediately for Asia: And Lucullus, hearing of the Decree, quitted his Army, that he might not be oblig'd to surrender it himself to his Adversary. These Two Generals met in the Province of Galatia. Their Officers, and such as were Friends to both, persuaded them to see each other. They at first treated one another with all imaginable Civility; but at last Lucullus, full of Indignation against Pompey, who had robb'd him of his Employment, cou'd not forbear showing his Resentment. He reproach'd him, that he had never coveted to command Armies, but against Enemies already vanquish'd; and that, like those Birds of Prey that feed on none but dead Bodies and Carrion, it was his Custom to come at the End of every War, to make his Advantage of Battels fought, and Victories gain'd by other Generals. That it was known to all the World, that he endeavour'd to rob Marius, Crassus, and Catulus, of the Glory of their Victories over the Spaniards, Gladiators and Mutineers who follow'd the Party of Lepidus; and, that without exposing himself to any Danger, he knew how to make the Advantages obtain'd by other People, his own: And have I now, added Lucullus, vanquish'd Mithridates, conquer'd the Kingdom of Pontus, defeated Tigranes, obtain'd considerable Victories, and taken Tigranocerta, Nisibe, and so many other Cities in Armenia, only to procure you fresh Triumphs?

vell. P.  
terc. l. 2.  
c. 33.  
Plut. in  
Lucullo.

Pompey, provok'd at so injurious a Speech, reproach'd him on his Part, That he had less conquer'd than ravag'd Asia, whose Riches he had secur'd in his own Coffers; That he made War for nothing but the sake of the Plunder; That he had indeed obtain'd some Advantages, but that he never



never cared to compleat a Victory; and usually left to his Enemy wherewithal to continue the War, that he might likewise be continued in the Command, and pillage on to a Degree odious to his very Soldiers.

Vell. Pat.

L 2. c. 33.

These mutual Reproaches were not groundless; and if it was true, that *Lucullus* had tarnish'd the Splendor of his Victories by that insatiable Desire of accumulating Riches upon Riches; that Jealousy, which *Pompey* shew'd against all the Commanders of the Commonwealth, and the Springs he set at Work to deprive them of their Posts, even during the Course of their Victories, rendered him much suspected to all true Republicans. It look'd as if he wou'd be the only General of the State; and that every Man became odious to him, in Proportion to the Glory and Esteem he acquired. These Two Generals parted declar'd Enemies: *Pompey* went on to take the Command of the Army upon him; and *Lucullus* return'd to Rome, where, notwithstanding all the ill Offices and Opposition of *Pompey* and his Party, he was honoured with a solemn Triumph. He found that City, then the Capitol of the World, in a seeming Peace. But that outward Tranquility was but a Cover to a secret Agitation; and there were new Parties privately broaching; all which, tho' by different Methods, aim'd at nothing less than to supplant each other, and become Masters of the Government.

Salust in  
Cat.  
Plur. in  
Cic.

*Lucius Sergius Catiline*, whom we have mention'd above, was at the Head of one of the Parties. He was descended of an illustrious *Patrician* Family, and so ancient, that he bragg'd it descended from *Sergestus*, one of *Aeneas's* Companions: A Folly common to most great People, who, by reason of some Resemblance in the Names, fancy they find the Origin of their Families in the Ruins of Antiquity, and often in mere Fables.

*Catiline*, educated in the Hurry and Confusion of the Civil Wars, had been the Minister of the Cruelties of *Sylla*; to whom he had devoted himself. The Favour of that Dictator, his Birth and Courage, had rais'd him to the principal Dignities of the Commonwealth: He had been Quæstor, Lieutenant-General in several Armies, and had since commanded in Chief, as Prætor in *Africa*. But in all these different Employments, he had equally dishonoured himself by his Debauches and horrible Crimes. He had been already publicly accused of Incest with one of the Vestal Virgins; of Assassination and Extortion; and he escap'd the Punishment of the Laws no other way, than by his Art of bribing his Accusers, with whom by Dint of Money he prevail'd to drop the Prosecution. He was a Man without Morals, Probity, or Respect for the Gods; Ambition was his sole Deity: Not satisfied with the present, always anxious for the future; bold, heady, audacious, daring to undertake any Thing; but not very capable; aiming at Tyranny too openly, and incapable of that deep Dissimulation, which was necessary to cover his execrable Designs. This was the Picture of *Lucius Catiline*, who after *Sylla's* Death, form'd the Project of usurping the Sovereign Power, as he had done. To succeed herein, he began to keep Company with, and to court all the young Men in *Rome*, who had either wasted their Fortunes by Gaming, or their Bodies by Debauchery with Wine and Women.

*Rome*, in its Beginning, had found no surer Guard for publick Liberty, nor Fence against Ambition, than an almost equal Poverty among all her Citizens. Temperance and Frugality, the Consequences of that Poverty, reign'd in all Conditions, perhaps as much out of Necessity, as out of Choice. Luxury was a long while a Stranger there. Iron was more valued than Gold; and

Each Citizen, content with his small Patrimony, which he manur'd with his own Hands; endeavour'd by other ways to distinguish himself, than by his Courage. As they had no Expectations from any body, each getting his Subsistence by his own Labour, there was neither a mean Compliance, nor slavish Dependence to be found amongst them. Love of Liberty was their universal Passion; and as long as Rome held the Poverty of each Citizen for a Virtue, her Citizens remain'd free, subject to the Laws only, and independent upon each other.

But after the Romans had destroyed Carthage, the Rival of Rome, subdued Italy, and the adjacent Isles; conquer'd Spain, and the Coasts of Africa, reduc'd Part of the Gauls, and all Syria, into Provinces; after they had forc'd most of the Sovereigns of Asia to pay them Tribute; their Ambition, Luxury, Effeminacy, and all those Vices that seem inseparable from Wealth, enter'd Rome in the Train of the Conquerors of those Countries. Those that had lived before with Honour in a laudable Poverty, cou'd not stand it in Plenty. They began to look with Admiration on a Picture drawn by a great Master, and the like on a fine statue, or a carv'd Vase. Soon was the good Fortune of those Generals and Officers, envied, who had brought some from Asia, and it was to get Possession of these, and to grow Rich, that they began to barter their Liberty, and sell it to such great Men, and Heads of Parties, as they could expect either Employment or Money from. The austere Manners and Frugality of the ancient Times, were by degrees chang'd into an exquisite voluptuousness. Most of the Youth confuted the Patrimony of their Ancestors in Feasts and Entertainments, where Delicacy and extravagant Plenty reign'd; the Women had their Share in this almost universal Corruption. Few now

counted Modesty among the Female Virtues. Some Men, unworthy of that Name, prostituted themselves like Women; and such as had ruin'd themselves to answer such extraordinary Expences, or were in danger of being prosecuted for Crimes, wish'd for a Civil War, that might shelter them from the Rigor of the Laws, or their troublesome Creditors. This strange Turn of Mind in the *Romans*, began to show it self towards the End of the Consulship of *L. Volcatius Tullus*, and *M. Emilius Lepidus*. The People had design'd for their Successors, *Publ. Anthonius*, and *P. Sylla*. But having afterwards been convicted of Bribery, they were excluded; and by a new Election, *Lucius Cotta* and *L. Torquatus* were substituted in their Room. The Shame of this Exclusion, and a Spirit of Revenge, urg'd them on to conspire against the Tranquility of the State. They resolv'd to assassinate the Two new Consuls, murder the greatest Part of the Senate, and make themselves Masters of the Government. *Catiline*, always ready for the greatest Crimes, and very desirous of all Novelties that could make him hope for a Change in his Fortune, enter'd into this Plot. Besides him, they engag'd in it a great Number of those young Men, undone by their Excesses; and mention'd above. Among the rest, *Piso*, a Youth of a very Noble Family; but rash, factious, overloaded with Debts, and who had no Prospect of retrieving his Affairs, but in the Salvation of the State.

Their Design was, as we said, to kill both the Consuls, and the greatest Number of Senators. They were to put this in Execution in the Capitol, on the First Day of *January*, when the Consuls took Possession of their Dignity. But not having found a convenient Opportunity on that Day; they put it off till the Fifth of *February*, at what Time was to be seen the most execrable Attempt that ever had happen'd in the Commonwealth,

Salust.

since the Foundation of Rome. A Band of Profligates were, upon a Signal to be given by *Caecilie*, to fall on the Consuls and the Senators, and stab them. But *Caecilie*, impatient and over-hasty to spill the Blood of his Fellow-Citizens, having given the Signal too soon, and before all the Conspirators had conveniently placed themselves, according to Direction, no body offer'd to stir: So that this cruel Business was put off once more, *Caecilie*, by his Boldness, made himself the Head of the Plot, and strengthen'd his Party with a great Number of Senators and Knights, who all from different Motives join'd in the Conspiracy.

Among his Adherents in the Senate, were counted *Lentulus Sura*, *P. Antonius* mention'd above, *Cassius Longinus*, *Caius Cethegus*, both the Sons of *Servius Sylla*, *Lucius Vargenteius*, *Quintus Annii*, *Rancius Lecca*, *Lucius Curius*, *L. Bessia*, and *Q. Carius*, and of the Knights, *M. Fulvius Nobilior*, *Lucius Statilius*, *P. Gabinus Capito*, and *C. Cornelius*. It is pretended, that *Crassus* partly knew their Designs, and that he, always jealous, and an Enemy of *Pompey's* Glory, was not sorry that another Party was arising in the Commonwealth, which should counterbalance his Authority. Some People did even suspect *Cesar* of favouring the Plot under-hand; and they add, that those Two cunning and equally ambitious Men waited for the Event, before they would declare themselves.

*Lentulus*, one of the Heads of this Party, was Son to *Manius Aquilius*, who had been Consul with *Marinus*. He bore the Name of *Lentulus*, because he had been adopted by another *Lentulus* of the Noble Family of the *Cornelians*. He was a Man plung'd in all manner of Debauchery, naturally Shameless, and who openly bragg'd of his Vices. He had the Surname of *Sura* given him, (which means the Calf of the Leg) because *Sylla*

and

the

the Dictator having one Day in open Senate demanded he shou'd give an Account of the Monies which he had unfaithfully managed during his Quæstorship; *Lentulus*, who had spent them in his Riots, answer'd him, That he had kept no other Book of Accounts besides the Calf of his Leg, which he held out to be struck; alluding to a Custom of those Days among Boys playing at Ball; when he that had mis'd, received a Blow upon his Leg. History has preserv'd us another Instance of his Impudence, which shews his depraved Temper and Character still better. He had been summon'd before the Magistrate, to answer to some Crimes that he was charg'd with. He bribed the Jury with large Sums of Money; and finding that, when Judgment was given, he had carried it by One Vote more than was necessary to come off, he was not asham'd to say aloud to them, *That one of them ought to return him his Money, since one Vote had been of no Use to him.*

Such was *P. Lentulus*, whom his Excesses, Impunity and Ambition, drew into this Conspiracy. He had suffer'd himself to be amused with a strange Sort of Prophecy, ascribed to the *Sybil*; and which, they said, promis'd the Empire of Rome to Three of the *Cornelians*. *Sylla* and *Cinna*, both of that House, though of different Parties, had one after the other enjoy'd the Sovereign Power. And *Lentulus* was not displeas'd, that his Flatterers applied the Prophecy of the *Sybil* to him, and took him for the Third of that Name, who was to reign in Rome.

*Cicærgus*, of the same Party, was a bold audacious Man, to be fear'd because of the Sway he bore among the common People. He had been some Time before Tribune of the People, whom he govern'd at his own Pleasure: But he was himself govern'd by a Courtezan, call'd *Præcia*, who

during his Tribunate, disposed arbitrarily of all Things in the Commonwealth.

Besides the Senators we have mention'd, there was a great Number of Knights that had engaged in the Plot. *Catiline* drew by his Management, even some Veteran Soldiers and Officers of *Sylla*, who, after having consumed in Whoring, Gaming and Drinking, all the Rewards of their former Services, were longing for a new Civil War; which they look'd on as the only Remedy for their Want and Misery.

Some Women of the best Families in *Rome*, as much noted for their Lewdness as their Beauty, enter'd into the Conspiracy out of Complaisance for their Lovers: Such was the famous *Sempronia*. Nature not only plac'd her in a high Rank, but bestow'd on her a lively and engaging Wit, a firm and undaunted Courage; and what Women value more than all that, an incomparable Beauty.

These natural Endowments were set off by an outward Appearance of Modesty, which she sometimes affected to put on, according to the Character of those she had a mind to please. But her Looks, which then seem'd to escape modest Eyes, were always guided by violent Passions; she always courting the Men more than they her. The Pravity of her Morals made her fall by Degrees into the greatest Crimes. She was suspected of being an Accomplice in several base Murders; and she was known to have denied, in a Court of Judicature, the Receipt of Pledges with more Confidence and Boldness, than the Owners demanded the Restitution of them.

Other Women, as disorderly and as well born as *Sempronia*, but not so young, nor so beautiful, had a Hand in the Plot, in hopes to see all those Debts acquitted, which they had contracted in an advanc'd Age, to supply the Wants of their young Gallants.

Gallants, *Catiline* drew them over to his Party, by procuring them such Men as they liked best, with a Design either to gain over their Husbands to his Party, or by their Means to get rid of them.

In short, all the *Roman* Youth that had been bred in Luxury, and were grown effeminate with nice Living; all that were ruin'd, and cou'd no longer follow their extravagant Courses; all that were ambitious and aspiring to the Chief Posts in the Government; others, who had not of themselves Power enough to be reveng'd on their too potent Enemies; all these People, animated with different Passions, join'd and favour'd *Catiline*.

This Chief of the Party, to tie them the stronger, promises some to discharge their Debts; he actually gives Money to others; to some he procures the Women they were in Love with; the Revenged he flatters with a Prospect of seeing their Enemies proscribed; and he amuses all with the Estates and Honours they shou'd obtain in a New Revolution. But at the same Time he represents to them, that they must set all their Industry to work, to get him chosen Consul; That it wou'd be no less advantageous to the Party to procure *Caius Antonius* to be his Colleague, who was one of the Candidates, and with whom he had of old lived in good Amity. That afterwards he might let him into the Secret; and that if once they were both invested with the Sovereign Magistracy, and at the Head of the Legions; there cou'd never be a Power sufficient to oppose the Execution of their Designs.

It's true, they cou'd never have chose a fitter Time. *Pompey* was then making War in the farthest Parts of the *East*. That General, carried on by the Desire of filling the whole Earth with the Glory of his Name, was pursuing the *Arabians*, whom it was easier to defeat, than to meet with.



There was no Army in *Italy*. The People, always greedy of new Things, saw with Pleasure the Rise of a Party, which seem'd to threaten nothing but the Authority of the Senate: And this very Senate, compos'd of so many wise Heads, slept secure, falsely imagining that the Leaders of that Party did not deserve their Attention.

However, as it was very difficult that the Designs of such Men, as were continually rioting, shou'd long remain a Secret, *Cicero* heard of it first by *Fulvia*, a Woman of a Noble Family, which however she dishonoured by her Criminal Intrigues with *Quintus Curius*, one of the Heads of the Conspiracy.

*Curius* had ruin'd himself in keeping her Company; and he continued in Favour, as long as she found her Account in it. But as soon as his Stock began to grow low, Indifference and Coldness took Place of that interested and mercenary Love: And *Fulvia* despis'd him, as soon as she ceas'd to be a Gainer by him.

*Curius* offering to enjoy former Favours, is rebuked and denied: Thinking at first, that a Rival had supplanted him, he storms and threatens: Afterwards he stoops to the lowest and meanest Submissions; at last he discovers, with much Shame, that he owes all *Fulvia's* Favours to his Money. As he cou'd neither supply her with more, nor free himself from her Chains, he endeavours to please her at least with fair Hopes. He discovers the whole Plot to her, and opens her a Scene of new Treasures in the Success of his well-laid Designs.

But whether *Fulvia*, like all Women of that Stamp, valued the Promises of a ruin'd Lover but little; or whether she entertain'd a very ill Opinion of an Undertaking manag'd by young People; she made a Discovery of all she had heard to some Men of Distinction, without naming her

Author:

Author: And this she did, that she might not find her self involv'd in a Matter of Treason. It immediately spread all over Rome. Cicero, who was very intent on all Things relating to the Publick, trac'd these Reports up to the very Head. He saw Fulvia, gain'd her, and she sold him the Secret of a Man whom she never lov'd; and who she was afterwards civil to for no other Reason, than that she might draw more Secrets from him, as she had promis'd Cicero she would.

Besides the general Interest of his Country, Cicero had a private End to serve in this nice Enquiry. The Time of chusing Consuls was very near: He was one of the Candidates himself: Catiline was one of those that put up for it. That Man, who was of an Illustrious Family, never spoke of that of Cicero but with the utmost Contempt. He commonly call'd him an Upstart, a New Man, that is, whose Father nor Ancestors had never bore any of those Magistracies, which enobled their Posterity. Cicero, on the other hand, neglected nothing that could render Catiline odious and suspected of Designs against the Publick Liberty. Nothing was fitter to prepossess the People against that Patrician, than the Discovery of his ill Designs. Cicero succeeded in it; and Catiline contributed himself towards it, by his rough and fierce Behaviour, and by dropping Threats at a Time, when it shou'd have been his Study how to gain the Friendship and Esteem of his Fellow-Citizens. All those that truly lov'd their Country, united to make him lose his Election. Catiline was excluded with Scorn and Indignation, and that high Dignity was conferr'd on Cicero.

Year of  
Rome,  
690.

Caius Antonius was appointed his Colleague; of a Plebeian but a very noted Family, deriving its Pedigree from a Son of Hercules. Antonius was a Man naturally lazy, a Lover of Ease and Pleasure, and who hitherto had no farther concern'd him-

himself in Affairs of Government, than was necessary to show that he was not absolutely unfit for them. The only Reason why they fix'd upon him for *Cicero's* Colleague, was that the *Romans* were convinc'd, that a Man of his Character would, without any Reluctance, follow *Cicero's* Advice; and concur in every Thing, that should be thought necessary by that Great Man to disperse *Carthage's* Faction. The Friends and Creatures of that Ring-leader, who thought themselves sure of this Election, were quite confounded when they saw *Cicero* chosen. They dreaded him on Account of that powerful Eloquence, with which he carry'd all before him in the Assemblies; and they knew, that he was not less valued on Account of his Probity, and his unmoveable Attachment to the Laws. The Dread of seeing the Rigor thereof themselves, under so clear-sighted and severe a Magistrate, made several of those factious People abandon the Party and Interest of *Carthage*. But this Defection made no Alteration in that Desperado, who was determin'd to die, if he could not reign. He got some new Adherents in their stead; and borrow'd on all Sides. By his Order, Arms and Provisions were laid up in several Places; and he sent *C. Manlius* into *Tuscan*, *Sepulchre* into the *Mark of Ancona*, and *C. Julius* into *Apulia*; these to raise Men underhand, and endeavour to secure to his Interest such Officers and Veteran Soldiers, settled in those Provinces, as had serv'd with him under *Sylla*. Whilst so dangerous a Man was increasing the Number of his Creatures, with all possible Diligence and Application; and was getting together Arms and Provisions to enable himself to seize upon the Government with an arm'd Force; a Tribune of the People was forming a like Design, but under more specious Colours: His Name was *Publius Servilius Rullus*. This Tribune was the more to be fear'd, as he employ'd

to say  
more  
and

employ'd no other Arms than Persuasion; and seem'd to have nothing else in View, than to render the Condition of the common People happier than it was.

It may have been observ'd more than once in this Work, That whenever the Romans had vanquish'd their Enemies, they were wont to take Part of their Lands from them; That those Lands were sometimes farm'd out, to increase the Revenue of the State; and that they were also often divided and shar'd out among the poorer Citizens, who paid the Commonwealth but an easy Rent for them. This publick Domain increas'd with the Greatness of the Commonwealth, and the Spoils of so many States; which the Romans had conquer'd in the Three Parts of the World. Rome was in Possession of Lands in the several Cantons of Italy, in Sicily, and the adjacent Isles, in Spain, in Africa, in Greece, in Macedonia, and all over Asia. In a word, they had incorporated into the publick Domain, the peculiar Domains of as many Free Cities, Kingdoms and Commonwealths, as the Romans had conquer'd and subdu'd. The Produce and Income of 'em was carry'd into the Roman Treasury. That was the Fund out of which the Armies were subsisted, and all publick Expences answer'd and discharg'd.

Cicer. in Rulliana. Plin. l. 7. c. 30.

Rullus, being rais'd to the Tribuneship, undertook to have the sole Disposal of all those Lands to himself. He brought over into his Scheme most of his Colleagues, and several Senators of the first Rank, whom, from the Success of his Project, he made to hope for immense Riches, and an absolute Authority: Two Motives that are generally prevalent with most Men, and are commonly the Rule of their Conduct.

Rullus having form'd his Party, prepar'd the Plan of a New Law, by which it was enacted, That for the Relief of the common People, there should be

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be *Decemvirs* chosen out of hand, who shou'd have Power to sell all those private Domains, which had been incorporated into the Domain of the Commonwealth, since the Consulate of *L. Sylla* and *Q. Pompeius*. That they should likewise sell all the Forests in *Italy*; That the Generals of Armies, and other Officers of the Commonwealth, who shou'd have any Monies in their Hands that had not yet been paid in to the Treasury, should be legally discharg'd, by paying those Sums to the *Decemvirs*; and that those Commissioners shou'd employ all those Sums in the buying up the different Estates situate in *Italy*, which shou'd afterwards be shar'd out among the common People; so that without dispossessing any of the Nobility of their ancient Usurpations, each poor Citizen should have a small Estate in his own Native Country to subsist on.

*Rullus*, to gain the Multitude also over to his Side in Behalf of this Law, added, That the *Decemvirs* should have Power to settle New Colonies in such Towns of *Italy*, as they should think proper. That they shou'd have Leave to repeople *Capua*, to conduct thither Five Thousand Inhabitants from *Rome*, of which each *Decemvir* should name Five Hundred at his own Pleasure; and that between them shou'd be shar'd the Territory of that City, and of *Stella*, which hitherto had been let out to farm for the Benefit of the Publick.

It was enacted by the same Law, That the Proposer of the Law shou'd of Right preside at the Assembly held for the Choice of the *Decemvirs*. By which Article, *Rullus* reserv'd to himself the chief Direction and Authority in this whole Affair. He added, That the Power of these Commissioners shou'd be uncontrollable, and no body should have Liberty of appealing from them to any other Power; and that they should be invested with this Authority in *Rome*, and all over  
the

the Roman Empire, for the Space of Five Years: That they should have the Right of taking the *Auspices*; and have Lictors, and such other Officers, as used to attend the Chief Magistrates of the Commonwealth. That they should have Power to chuse Two Hundred of the *Equestrian Order*, to put their Decrees in Execution in the several Provinces. *Rullus*, under Pretence of avoiding the Confusion and Tumults, which commonly happen'd in the General Assemblies of the whole Roman People, but in effect to make himself Master of the Election of the *Decemvirs*, propos'd, That they should not be chosen by any more than by Seventeen Tribes, which should be drawn by Lot; and that it should be sufficient to have the Votes of Nine Tribes, to be declar'd duly elect-ed. And to exclude *Pompey*, whose Credit he stood much in Fear of, from that Dignity, and who was then commanding Armies in the remotest Parts of *Asia*; he added, That no Citizen, absent from *Rome*, should stand Candidate for the *Decemvirate*.

How much soever this Extensive Power ought to have been suspected in a Commonwealth, yet did *Rullus* see a vast Number of Senators, and the whole People without Exception, for his Project. The first, urg'd on by their Ambition, hoped to be chosen *Decemvirs*; and the common People flatter'd themselves they shou'd have a Share in those Lands that were to be bought in *Italy*. *Rullus* soon saw himself at the Head of a considerable Party; and the Consul *Antonius* himself, the Colleague of *Cicero*, did not dislike these Novelties.

It was said, That being loaded with Debts, he look'd on the Place of a *Decemvir*, and the extraordinary Power annex'd to it, as an infallible Means to repair his Fortune, because of the vast Sums of Money that shou'd go through his Hands, and

and that he shou'd have the disposing of: Many even suspected him of secretly favouring *Catiline's* Party.

Plut. in  
Cicer.D.H.  
l. 37.  
Cic. in Sex-  
tiana, Mu-  
reniana, &  
Pisoniana.  
Salust.

As the Authority which he had by his Consulate was of great Weight, *Cicero* undertook to bring him off: Interest was the only Way to succeed in it: That Consideration made him resign to *Antony* the Government of *Macedonia*, with the Command of the Army, which by Lot was fallen to himself. He contented himself with the Government of *Cisalpine Gaul*; which brought in a less Income.

It is universally known, that the Consuls, after their Election, were wont to divide betwixt 'em the whole Administration of the Commonwealth: That one of those Magistrates customly stay'd at *Rome*, and at the Head of the Senate, to preside therein; and that he hardly ever went out of the City, unless some very important War forc'd both the Consuls to put themselves at the Head of Armies, and to take the Field. He that took upon him the Command of the Forces, had at the same Time the Government of the Provinces bordering on that where the Forces were, and the Two Consuls generally determin'd the Choice of these Two different Employments by Lot.

The Consul, entring upon the Provinces of the Empire, received there the same Honours, which every where else were only paid to the Sovereigns of the Country. During his Consulate, he enjoy'd an absolute Authority; and unless he was of an uncommon Probity, he seldom return'd home without being loaded with immense Treasures. *Antony*, whose indifferent Circumstances requir'd such an Help, accepted of his Colleague's Proffer with Joy; and, from a Principle of Gratitude, quitted that Party which before he seem'd to favour; following the Dictates of *Cicero's* wife Counsels, and resolv'd to join with him in all his Measures for the Good of his Country.

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*Cicero*, now sure of his Colleague, turn'd all his Thoughts against *Rullus*. As he was not yet acquainted with the Bottom of that Tribune's Intentions, that he might penetrate into them, he got some of their common Friends to remonstrate to him, that being both invested with Two several Dignities in the same Year, it was for the Interest of the Commonwealth, that they should act jointly, and with Unanimity; that he should ever find him dispos'd to favour any Thing tending to the Advantage of the People; and that he desir'd him to impart to him the Plan of a Law, which the World reported he was to propose; that if it appear'd just to him, he might back it with all his Credit. But *Rullus*, rightly judging, that a Man so much attach'd to the maintaining of the ancient Laws, and so jealous of the Publick Liberty as *Cicero* was, would never approve those Innovations which he design'd to introduce into the Government; answer'd nothing to those civil Advances, but in very general Terms, which increas'd the Suspensions of the Consul. He even shunn'd his Presence, that he might not be oblig'd to speak plainer; and *Cicero* saw that he should never know any Thing certain about the Law, but when the Law should be publickly propos'd. Yet, that he might not be surpris'd, he sent Secretaries to all the Assemblies of the People, to observe every Thing that should happen there; and to write down, in the best manner they could, all the Articles of that Law, and what might be said in relation to that Subject, if it came to a Debate.

It was by means of those Secretaries, he heard, that *Rullus* had propos'd his Law to the Assembly. They brought him an exact Copy of it, and likewise of all the Discourses made on that Occasion, either by *Rullus* himself, or his Adherents.



Cicero, furnish'd with this Piece, call'd immediately the Senate together : Having read the Law to them, which contained more than Forty Articles, he remonstrated to that August Body, how much the Proposals of the Tribune ought to be suspected, and even hated by all that sincerely lov'd Liberty, and the Quiet of the Commonwealth. As he spoke to a Body of Men entirely jealous of their own Authority, he made them sensible how much it was inconsistent with the Authority of the Senate, to create those *Decemvirs* with so absolute a Power all over the Empire, and for so long a Time as Five whole Years ; that there was a new kind of Magistracy arising, which would abolish all the old ones ; and that the Sale of the Lands that belong'd to the Domain of the State, would infallibly destroy the principal Strength of the Commonwealth.

“ Know, Conscript Fathers, (said he) That our  
 “ Tribunes have a mind to sell the Lands of the  
 “ *Attalians* and the *Olimpenians*, which *Sertilius*,  
 “ by his Conquests, had added to the Domain of  
 “ the Publick. Thence these Merchants, who have  
 “ resolv'd to sell the whole Commonwealth, are  
 “ to cross over into *Macedonia*, and there, by way  
 “ of Auction, sell the Royal Lands of *Philip* and  
 “ *Perseus*, acquir'd by the Valour and Courage  
 “ of *Paulus Emilius*. The fertile Lands of *Corinth*,  
 “ which, thro' the wise Conduct of *Mummius*,  
 “ make Part of the Publick Revenue, will not  
 “ escape them. Next, they'll sail over to *Spain*.  
 “ After having sold the Lands which we possess  
 “ near *New Carthage*, they'll leave *Europe* ; they'll  
 “ cross over into *Africa*, and there they will sell  
 “ the Territory of *Old Carthage*. *Asia* presents  
 “ them next with new Estates, and a new Field  
 “ of Plunder, *Pontus*, *Cappadocia*, *Bithinia*, and  
 “ *Paphlagonia* ; all the Lands, that belong'd par-  
 “ ticularly to the several Princes, who reign'd

“ in

“ in those large Provinces, will be put up to Sale  
 “ next. By the Sale of all these Domains of the  
 “ Commonwealth, they are going at once to dry  
 “ up all the Springs whence the Treasury used to  
 “ be supply’d ; divert the surest Funds for paying  
 “ our Legions ; and deprive *Rome* and all *Italy* of  
 “ the Supplies they receiv’d from those Provinces,  
 “ in Times of Dearth and Famine.

*Cicero* took next into Consideration the Article about the Colonies which the *Decemvirs* were to settle in such Towns of *Italy* as they should think fit, and to which they were to assign the best Lands. He shew’d, that *Rullus*, and the other Tribunes, had no other Design by this Project, but to fill the Towns in the Neighbourhood of *Rome* with their own Creatures, that they might afterwards the easier make themselves Masters of *Rome* it self, and of the Government.

“ It is not only (continued *Cicero*) of our great  
 “ Losses, and the lessening of our Publick Revenue, I complain ; it is against that absolute  
 “ Power design’d for the *Decemvirate*, that I stand  
 “ up at present. My Fear and Uneasiness is for  
 “ the Welfare of our Country, and the Preservation of our Liberty. For, Which way will  
 “ you be able to resist a Set of Men, that after  
 “ they have fill’d *Italy* with their *Satellites* and  
 “ Guards, will have in their own Hands all the  
 “ Treasures of the Commonwealth ? Never fear,  
 “ (says somebody ;) out of those Monies, according to that Law, they are to buy Lands  
 “ in *Italy* without Delay. Mighty well ; but,  
 “ Are they very sure, that in those fertile and  
 “ pleasant Countries, they shall meet with People enow dispos’d to sell their Lands and Paternal Estates ? And if there should be no Sellers ; if there should be no room to lay those  
 “ Monies out that they shall have in their Hands ;  
 “ What will become of our Money ? That is ea-  
 “ V q l. II. U sily

“ sily answer’d, Conscript Fathers, if you but allow them for Five Years that absolute Power granted by the Law, you have your selves put them in a Condition of never being accountable to you : And if the Law passes, the Commonwealth loses in one Day her Domains, her Finances, and her Liberty.

In short, *Cicero*, who was no less a Statesman than he was an Orator, spoke with so much Force and Eloquence ; he demonstrated so plainly, that *Rullus* himself, and his Colleagues and Adherents, had no other Aim but to enrich themselves at the Expence of the Publick ; and to establish the ancient Tyranny of the *Decemvirs*, that the Law was rejected by the Senate almost unanimously.

Tho’ *Rullus* and his Party were very much daunted at the Impression that *Cicero*’s strong Reasoning and invincible Eloquence had made on the Senate, they notwithstanding carried the Affair before the People, who alone had the Right of deciding finally, and where they hop’d to find so much the greater Favour for their Law, as it seem’d chiefly calculated for the Advantage of the Common People. And indeed, all the Populace look’d on *Rullus* as another *Gracchus*, as their Patron and Benefactor, being deluded by the Temptation of the Lands promised to be purchas’d for them in *Italy*.

But *Cicero*, tho’ well appriz’d of that Disposition in the People, abated nothing of his Courage and Zeal ; and on the Day nam’d for the Assembly, he order’d the whole Senate to attend him thither. He accordingly appear’d in the *Forum* at the Head of that August Body, preceded by his Lictors, and with all the Majesty of a Sovereign Magistrate of the Commonwealth. He mounted the *Rostrum*, and without minding either the Invectives of the Tribunes, or the Clamours of the People, he began his Speech ; and under-

undertook to show the Multitude how much that New Law was contrary to their true Interests, and the Publick Safety.

But as he had to deal with a Multitude prejudic'd by their Tribunes against every Thing that came from the Senate ; like an artful Orator, he took a very dextrous Method to insinuate himself into their Confidence. He began his Discourse with telling them, that he was himself a *Plebeian*, born in the *Equestrian* Order ; and that he was beholden for his Consulute to no body but themselves. Cic. in Rull. 2.

" I am (said he) the first new Man whom in our Days you have made a Consul ; and by chusing me, you have gain'd a Post, of which the Nobility was always before possess'd, and which they defended with all their Might. You have rais'd me to it with so uncommon an Unanimity, that never any *Patrician* arriv'd to it with so much Splendor, nor any *Plebeian* with so much Glory. And what ought to increase my Attachment and my Gratitude towards the People, is, that in the Assembly, call'd for my Election, you never came to a Balloting, which are Signs of only a secret Liberty ; but you have exalted me to this High Station with Acclamations and Publick Rejoicings, which perhaps do me more Honour, than the very Dignity you have bestow'd on me. Since then I am a new Man, and a *Plebeian*, that I owe the Dignity I am invest'd with entirely to the People ; I openly declare before the whole Senate, and before all the Nobility, that I am resolv'd to be a Popular Consul ; that nothing during my Consulute, shall be so dear to me as the Interests of that People, to whom I have such great Obligations : And if possible, I will prevent those Funds from being ruin'd and sunk, whence they have their chief Strength, and receive their Subsistence in Times of War.

" Not that I disapprove all the Laws made  
 " concerning the Sharing of Lands. There are  
 " some which I hold in great Esteem. The  
 " Memory of the Two *Gracchi* shall always be  
 " dear to me ; those illustrious Brothers, who  
 " sacrific'd their Lives to recover such Lands for  
 " the People, as some private Persons had unjust-  
 " ly usurp'd. The *Lex Sempronia* will always  
 " be respected by all honest Men : But I can-  
 " not consent to that propos'd by *Rullus*, who,  
 " to dazzle your Eyes, vainly brags of the Lands  
 " which he has not, nor ever can have in his  
 " Power to bestow on you. Under so plausible  
 " a Pretence, his Design is to deprive us all of  
 " our Liberty, and make himself the Tyrant of  
 " the Commonwealth. This I undertake to make  
 " you plainly sensible of ; and if after you shall  
 " have heard me, you are not satisfy'd with the  
 " Solidity of my Arguments, I promise you  
 " to desist. I will receive the Law at your  
 " Hands ; I will sign it ; and, as a Popular Con-  
 " sul, I will conform my self to the Majority of  
 " the People.

Then taking the Law before him, he read it  
 all over ; and as, when he argued against it in  
 the Senate, he chiefly apply'd himself to demon-  
 strate, how the Creation of those New Magi-  
 strates would entirely ruin the Authority of the  
 Old ones ; now speaking to the People, he expa-  
 tiated upon all those Articles that might affect  
 their Liberty, and the Privilege each Citizen had  
 of giving his Voice at Elections, and thereby  
 to determine which Laws should, or should not  
 pass.

" The first Article of the Law (said he) or-  
 " dains, that he who propos'd the same, shall  
 " establish *Decemvirs* by the Suffrages of Seven-  
 " teen Tribes chosen by Lot ; and that he shall be  
 " elected a *Decemvir*, whom Nine of those Seven-  
 " teen

“teen Tribes shall have voted for. I would fain  
 “ask this audacious Tribune, how he dares de-  
 “prive Eighteen Tribes of their Right of Vo-  
 “ting? Was there ever one Instance in the Com-  
 “monwealth, of a Triumvir or a Decemvir be-  
 “ing created; without the Concurrence of all the  
 “Five and Thirty Tribes? What can be the De-  
 “sign of this Tribune, in introducing so surpri-  
 “zing an Innovation in our Government? You  
 “shall know it presently: He doth not want for  
 “Contrivances; he only wants Honesty and Faith  
 “towards the *Roman* People: He has been want-  
 “ing to Justice, and has no ways regarded your  
 “Rights or Interests. *Rullus* moreover pretends,  
 “that the Author of this Law shall preside in  
 “the Assembly of the *Roman* People; that is to  
 “say, *Rullus* ordains, That *Rullus* shall hold the  
 “Assembly. The same *Rullus*, who will trust  
 “nothing to the entire Body of the *Romans*, or-  
 “dains, That the Tribes shall cast Lots: And  
 “whereas he has a lucky Hand, and is to pre-  
 “side there; what Tribe, think you, is like to  
 “come out of the Balloting-Box, but such as he  
 “shall approve of? And by a Train of such  
 “Contrivances, those whom the Nine Tribes cho-  
 “sen by *Rullus* shall have nam’d to be Decem-  
 “virs, will be, under the Authority and Directi-  
 “on of *Rullus*, our Lords and our Masters, and  
 “the absolute Dispensers of our Estates. Was  
 “ever any Project more unjust, more audacious;  
 “and more contrary to our Laws? And who is  
 “the Author of this New Law? *Rullus*. Who  
 “is that Man, who dares deprive the greatest  
 “Part of the People of their Right of Voting?  
 “*Rullus*. Who is he, that has a Secret at hand,  
 “to draw out of the Urn none but the Names  
 “of such Tribes, where he is sure to have the  
 “greatest Sway? *Rullus*. Who shall name the  
 “Decemvirs according to his own Ends and In-

"terest? *Rullus*. Who shall be the first of these  
 " *Decemvirs*? Is that a Question? Who shou'd,  
 " but *Rullus*? In short, Who shall be the abso-  
 " lute Master of all the Domains and Revenues of  
 " the Commonwealth? The Sole *Rullus*. Can  
 " you, Sirs, that are the Masters and Kings of so  
 " many Nations, tamely take such Usage? Scarce  
 " wou'd so shameful a Prevarication be suffer'd  
 " under the Empire of a Tyrant, and by a Com-  
 " munity of Slaves.

*Cicero* having thus endeavour'd to raise the In-  
 dignation of the People against this Attempt up-  
 on their Privileges; proceeded next to the other  
 Articles of that Law. He shou'd the Injustice  
 and Inconveniences of 'em all. He repeated in  
 this Second Speech Part of what he had already  
 said before the Senate. He added, That a Man,  
 without any lawful Authority, after having pro-  
 cur'd himself to be chosen a *Decemvir*, against the  
 usual Method of Elections, wou'd think himself  
 authoris'd to sell the Domain of the Common-  
 wealth to whom he pleas'd, and at what Rate  
 he pleas'd. " What monstrous Robbery is this?  
 " cry'd the Consul. Who can doubt, but that  
 " the Buyer and Seller will often be the same  
 " Person; tho' perhaps the true Buyer may not  
 " appear but under a borrow'd Name? But pray,  
 " where is this Scene to be acted? Do you fancy  
 " it will be in the Publick *Forum*, in the Sight  
 " of all the Citizens; as the Censors use, when  
 " they farm out the Revenues of the Common-  
 " wealth? No, Sirs; *Rullus* nor his Colleagues  
 " care not to be so publick. They design to  
 " lurk in dark Corners, that shall conceal their  
 " Frauds and Robberies: The Author of the  
 " Law, who has taken all his Measures right,  
 " provides and ordains, That they shall be at  
 " Liberty to make their Sales where-ever they  
 " shall think fit,

We shou'd be oblig'd wholly to transcribe the Three Speeches which *Cicero* made on this Occasion, if we wou'd rehearse every particular Argument, which this excellent Orator oppos'd to the Establishment of so dangerous a Law. In short, he spoke so much to the Purpose, that he convinc'd the People, that they cou'd not pass and receive it without destroying their own Liberty, and ruining the Commonwealth. All the Projects of *Rullus* and his Colleagues were rejected unanimously. On the First of January, said *Cicero* in his Oration against *Piso*, *I freed the Senate, and all honest Men, from the Fear of this Law.*

*Cicero in  
Pison.  
Plin. l. 7.  
c. 30.*

But it prov'd a harder Task for him to dissipate the Terrors which were occasion'd by the ill Designs of *Catiline* and his Party. Not that all the World was equally at the Bottom of his Plot: Various were the Opinions about it in *Rome*: Those that were the most favourable to that Ringleader of Sedition, pretended, that all his Aim was against *Cicero*, whom he hated, said they, for having carried the last Election for Consul from him. Others gave out, that this ambitious *Patrician*, educated under the absolute Government of *Sylla*, designed; during the Absence of *Pompey*, who was at a great Distance, to revive a perpetual Dictatorship, as he had done. And all these Reports, whose Authors were unknown, had a Mixture of Falsity and Truth, and wonderfully increas'd the Uneasiness of the Senate, and the Fears of honest Men.

*Cicero* was better inform'd: *Fulvia*, mention'd above, hid nothing from him of what she cou'd learn by her Lover *Curins*, one of the Heads of the Conspiracy. But the Evidence of one single Woman of ill Repute was not sufficient to authorize a regular Prosecution against a Man of *Catiline's* Birth, whose Relations and Friends were the most considerable in the Senate. The Consul saw



very well, that he needed other Proofs, and such Evidences as cou'd not be excepted against. He therefore sent Spies into all their Cabals. It is even said, that he gain'd over some of the Conspirators themselves, who, as he directed them, pretended to be the warmest Promoters of the Plot. It was by their Help that he discover'd the Designs of *Catiline*, the various Sentiments of those of his Party, the Number and Quality of his Adherents, and the general, as well as the private Views of each of the Conspirators.

As he always kept faithful Spies among those Hot-heads, he was in a manner Witness of their Discourses, Resolutions, and even their Thoughts. He learn'd, with as much Surprise as Sorrow, that this Band of Profligates had form'd a Plot to set Fire to several Parts of the City: That during the Confusion and Uproar which so general a Conflagration wou'd cause, they had agreed to murder the Chief Men of the Senate in their very Houses; and that at the same Time they wou'd cause the Troops under *Manlius* to advance, in order to make themselves Masters of *Rome*, and the Government. Whilst the Conspirators were hugging themselves with the Prospect of immense Treasures, and a boundless Authority from the Success of their cruel Designs, News was brought and spread all over *Rome*, That *Pompey*, having subdued a great Part of the *East*, was returning to *Italy* at the Head of a Victorious Army: *Catiline*, frighten'd at this unseasonable Accident, which ruin'd all his Designs, resolv'd to hasten the Execution of them. He confers with the Chief of his Party; he speaks to each of 'em in private; he renews his Promises, and the Hopes he had given them, That in a Change of the Government they shou'd find an entire Satisfaction of all their Wishes. At last he calls 'em all together in the Night, in a private Part of *Lecca's* House, and repr-

represents to them, that *Pompey's* Return would defeat all their Measures, unless they had Courage enough to prevent him. That their Undertaking was so much the easier, as there were no Troops neither in *Rome* nor in *Italy*; and their Enemies might be crush'd before they cou'd foresee the Blow that was prepar'd for 'em.

“ It is in your Power, said he, to be Masters of *Salust.*  
 “ *Rome* To-morrow. *Pompey* is yet far off; the  
 “ Town is without any Defence; and the Senate  
 “ compos'd mostly of People without Courage, de-  
 “ press'd with Age, or unmann'd by Luxury. As  
 “ for us, we want neither Strength nor Courage.  
 “ We are numerous, and most of us of the  
 “ best Families in the *Roman* State. The People,  
 “ who always hated the Senate, will declare for  
 “ us; and we have out of *Rome* all those brave  
 “ Soldiers of *Sylla*, who, united under the Com-  
 “ mand of *Manlius*, wait only for your Orders. It  
 “ behoves us only to begin; the whole depends  
 “ upon our Quickness and Dispatch in executing;  
 “ and you will meet with Honour and Wealth in  
 “ the Success of your Enterprize.

This Discourse was receiv'd with great Applause. Then several Opinions were offer'd, and the most violent was still the best liked. As they stood in fear of *Cicero's* Foresight and Firmness, they agreed to begin with making away with a Man, who, by the Authority that his Consulate gave him, might traverse the Execution of their Projects. It was resolv'd at the same time to set Fire to an Hundred different Parts of the City, to cut the Water-Pipes, in order to disable them from putting out the Fire; to murder the whole Senate; and to spare none but *Pompey's* Children, whom they should retain as Hostages, against the Power and Resentment of that formidable Warrior. That next to this, *Catiline* should put himself at the Head of the Forces which *Manlius* had rais'd,  
 and

and should settle his Authority in the State in the same Manner that *Sylla* had done before; and should even change the Constitution as he should find it most for his Interest. *Cethegus*, and *Cornelius*, a Roman Knight, offer'd to go and stab *Cicero* in his own House; and the Night preceding the *Saturnalia*, was fix'd for firing the City.

From Council they went to a plentiful Entertainment, which was accompanied with most horrible Debauchery, and those shameful Crimes which Nature it self starts at. It is said, that young Men were not ashamed to prostitute themselves to the Chiefs of the Conspiracy; and that *Catiline*, to bind all the Conspirators with the Bonds of equal Guilt and Fury, presented them with a Bowl fill'd with Human Blood and Wine mingled, of which they all drank. But some of these Facts are not so well proved in History; and, perhaps, were only grounded on the general Prejudice against that Monster of a Man; a Prejudice which inclin'd Men to believe, that the same Root which produced so great a Crime as the Conspiracy, carried in it self every Thing abominable.

The Conspirators were no sooner parted, but *Cicero* had Notice given him by *Fulvia*, of the Danger of the Commonwealth; and particularly of the Designs form'd against his own Life. As he was a Man of very regular Manners; wife, temperate, and besides of great Experience, he had a vast Advantage over a Parcel of furious and passionate People, whose Designs were always contriv'd in Wine and Riots. He began with regulating every Thing in his own House; and *Cethegus* calling there the next Morning early, under Pretence that he had Business of great Moment to communicate to the Consul, Entrance was denied him. He went away complaining and threatening, which rendred him still more suspected.

Plut. in  
Cic.

How-

However, *Cicero* not thinking his own Authority sufficient to dissipate so powerful a Cabal, call'd the Senate together: He went thither, attended with a vast Number of his Friends and Clients; and he put a Coat of Mail under his Robe, which he shew'd designedly, thereby to intimate the Danger he was expos'd to. He communicated the whole Plot to the Senate. He told them, that the Commonwealth had Enemies within, as well as out of *Rome*; and that whilst *Catiline* was forming the Design of setting Fire to the City, and to murder the whole Senate, and the chief Citizens, *Maulius* was on his Side, endeavouring to make *Tuscany* revolt: That he had put himself at the Head of all the Vagabonds in *Italy*, and that the Inhabitants of the Colonies planted by *Sylla*, and the veteran Soldiers of that Dictator, who had spent in Luxury and Excess, all that their former Robberies had supplied them with, had join'd that Rebel, and were preparing to come to *Rome*, in order to renew the Fury of *Sylla* and *Marius*'s Proscriptions.

As there were a good many of the Conspirators that were Senators themselves, *Cicero* did not think it yet a proper Time to name those by whom he had been inform'd. But the Confidence and Trust in his Probity was so great, that the Senate, without requiring he should prove his Allegations, or produce Witnesses, by a Publick Decree ordained, that the Consuls should take Care, *That no Detriment came to the Commonwealth*: An ancient Form, by which the Magistrates for the Time being had the amplest Power conferr'd on them; which, however, they were never trusted with, but in the greatest Dangers of the State.

*Cicero*, invested with so great an Authority, which his Colleague most entirely left to him, sent immediately certain Senators, and some of the honestest Men of the Commonwealth, to the prin-

principal Towns in *Italy*, to retain the People in their Duty. He at the same Time settled in different Parts of *Rome*, Courts of Guard, to prevent, or to stop the Incendiaries. The Senate, by his Advice, in order to be better inform'd of the Particulars, promises a Pardon, and even a Reward to those of the Conspirators, who should come and make any useful Discoveries. But those Profligates were so strictly link'd together, and so bent upon Mischief, that among so large a Number of them, who were either at *Rome*, or in *Manlius's* Army, there was not a single Man, whom either the Fear of Punishment, or Hopes of Reward, cou'd draw to discover the ill Designs of his Accomplices. The Common People, always desirous of Novelty, even favour'd that Party; and, as usual, flattered themselves with bettering their Condition in the Change of the Government, and the Publick Disturbances. *Catiline* himself, or his Emissaries, had spread and propagated among the People of all Degrees, a Spirit of Sedition and Rebellion; and you might have found in this Conspiracy, not only Senators; but Knights, Plebeians, and even Slaves.

The Particulars of their Designs were yet better discover'd by means of a Packet left by an unknown Person with *Crassus's* Porter. There were in this Packet Letters directed to several different People, all without the Name of their Writer, and another without a Direction, which last *Crassus* open'd. He found therein the whole Plan of the Conspiracy: He was therein admonish'd, if he valu'd his Life, forthwith to leave *Rome*. As no body was ignorant, that there had always been a pretty great Intimacy between *Catiline* and him, lest he should make himself suspected, he carried the Packet to the Consul, who caus'd it to be read before the whole Senate. Whilst that Body was deliberating upon it, *Catiline* came in, as if he had

had no ways been concern'd in the Affair. But when he was going to seat himself among the Senators, all his Brethren left him, and not one would remain upon the same Bench with him. *Cicero*, who was President of the Assembly, no longer able to conceal his Indignation, directed his Speech to him with that thundring Eloquence, wherewith he used so effectually to terrify the Guilty.

“ How long, *Catiline*, dost thou design to abuse  
 “ our Patience? How long are we yet to be the  
 “ Object of thy Fury? How far dost thou design  
 “ to carry thy guilty Audaciousness? Don't you  
 “ perceive, by the continual Watch all over the  
 “ City, by the scared Looks of the People, and  
 “ by the angry Countenance of the Senators, that  
 “ your Designs are discover'd? Faithful Eyes are  
 “ upon all your Proceedings; you cannot keep  
 “ any Counsel so secret, but that I hear of it; I  
 “ am present there my self; I am present to your  
 “ very Thoughts. Do you fancy that I am ignorant of what pass'd last Night at *M. Lecca's*  
 “ House? Did not you there distribute Employ-  
 “ ments, and divide all *Italy* into Shares with your  
 “ Accomplices? Some are to take the Field under  
 “ the Command of *Manlius*, and others to stay in  
 “ the City, to fire it in a Hundred different Places at a Time. During the Disorder and Tumult occasion'd by so general a Fire, the Consul, and most of the Senators, are to be massacred in their own Houses. The Senate, that august and sacred Assembly, is inform'd of the most minute Circumstances of the Plot; yet does *Catiline* live; not only lives, but is one amongst us, hears us, and looks on us as so many Sacrifices. Whilst I am now speaking, he is marking out those whom he designs for Death; yet we are so patient, or rather so weak, that we are less intent on the Method how to punish  
 “ his

“ his Crimes, than how we shall preserve our  
 “ selves from his Fury.

*Catiline* stood this vehement Discourse with a deep Diffimulation; and at first, answer'd it only by conjuring the Senate, they would not hearken or give Credit to the Invectives of his Enemy, and of a new Man, an *Upstart*, who had not in Rome so much as a House of his own, and who had forg'd the Plan of a Conspiracy, to get himself a Name, and acquire the Title of *Defender of his Country*. He added to this a great many other Reflections upon *Cicero*; but he was interrupted by a general Murmuring, which hindred him from being heard. The whole Senate-house rung with nothing but the Names of Incendiary, of Parricide and Enemy to his Country. *Catiline*, provok'd at these Reproaches, pale with Anger, and his Eyes burning with Rage, cried out in a furious Passion, that since they would provoke him to the utmost, he would not fall alone, but would involve in his Fate those who had resolv'd his Ruin. Upon this he instantly went out of the Senate, and sent for to his House *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the chief of the Conspiracy. He gave them an Account of what had just happen'd in the Senate; and made them sensible, that he could no longer with Safety stay at Rome; that he was going to put himself at the Head of the Forces which *Manlius* had rais'd for him in several Parts of *Hetruria*; and that after he had made one Army of them all, he would advance with it to Rome. That it was incumbent on them who stay'd in Town, to turn all their Thoughts towards the destroying of the Consul, the only Man who could lay an Obstacle in the way of their Designs. That above all Things, he admonish'd 'em to gain the Youth of Rome to their Party, and to increase the Number of their Friends.

He went away the Night following, accompanied with Three Hundred armed Men, directly to *Manlius*. He had no sooner assembled the Forces that he had made himself sure of, but he took all the publick Tokens of a Sovereign Magistrate, and was preceded by Ushers carrying Falces before him. The Senate, inform'd of so open a Rebellion, ordained that the Consul *Antonius* should immediately march against the Rebels at the Head of the Legions; and that *Cicero* should remain in the City to watch for its Preservation.

In the mean Time *Lentulus*, and the other Chiefs of the Conspiracy, applied themselves, according to *Catiline's* Instructions, to the gaining over more Partisans. They endeavoured to draw into the Plot the Ambassadors of the *Allabroges*, then at *Rome*. They were come to *Rome*, to desire the Senate to ease them somewhat in the Taxes laid on 'em, and the accumulated Interest whereof for many Years, did now, through the ruinous Art of Usurers, amount to more than the real Value of their Lands. But the insatiable Avarice of those who farm'd those Taxes, and the Inflexibility of the Magistrates, was the Occasion that no Notice was taken of their Misery. The very Fund and Property of those Estates, was not sufficient to discharge those Debts; and they were in a just Fear of seeing their Wives and Children forthwith sold for Slaves, to satisfy those cruel Exactions.

*Lentulus*, having discover'd that those Deputies were greatly incens'd against the Senate, resolv'd to take Advantage of their Disposition. As the *Allabroges* were a Warlike People, he flattered himself he should draw a considerable Assistance from them, if he could determine them to take up Arms, and to join *Catiline's* Army. *Unbrenus*, one of the Conspirators, and who had some Acquaintance with one of the Deputies, was com-



mission'd to treat with them. Under Pretence of enquiring after their Affairs, he accosts them, and asks them what they thought would be the Issue of their Business? *No other than Death* (said they) *since the Senate is not moved with our just Complaints.* *Umbrenus*, to insinuate himself into their Confidence, pities 'em, blames the Senate's hard-heartedness, offers his own Service, and that of his Friends, bestirs him much, and seemingly solicits for them. These good Offices engaged them to a more frequent Conversation; they gradually begin to confide in each other, and at last a firm Friendship and Union is established. Then does *Umbrenus* tell them, (but by way of Secrecy) that they must expect nothing from the Senate, whose Politicks requires them to keep the Subjects of the State in a continual Poverty, and an humble Dependence. He adds, that there was, however, one Remedy left for their Misfortunes, and he knew a Method to deliver them from all their Debts at once. But that it required Secrecy and Courage. Those Deputies declared, that no Undertaking could be so difficult, but that they were ready for it, if thereby they could but free their Nation from the Tyranny of the Money-Lenders; and they intreated *Umbrenus* at the same Time to discover to them the Means of breaking their Bonds. But that *Roman* did not think fit to disclose himself more, before he had conferr'd upon it with *Lentulus*, and the other Chiefs of the Conspiracy. His Conduct was approv'd, and to add more Weight to the Treaty, *Gabinus* was join'd with him. These Two Men began their Conferences with the *Allobroges* in *Sempronius's* House.

*Gabinus*, after having exacted from them the most solemn Oaths, discover'd the whole Plan of the Plot to them; and the Number and Strength of the Conspirators, which he made still more confi-

considerable than they actually were. He added, That if their Nation wou'd take up Arms, and join *Catiline*, they shou'd have all the Sureties given them, which they cou'd desire, of a general Discharge of their Debts.

They parted after several Proposals, and agreed to meet again the Night following, to put the Treaty in Form, which as yet was only minuted down. But no sooner were those Deputies alone, but the Greatness of the Danger wherein they were going to plunge their Nation, and the Uncertainty of the Event, began to make them uneasy. Subsequent Thoughts weaken'd their first Resolutions: On one Side indeed they saw an Army in the Field, sustain'd in *Rome* by a powerful Party, compos'd of a great Number of People of the first Rank and Distinction. But they saw on the other Side the Law's Authority, the Consuls, the Senate, and the Legions. They might even flatter themselves, that they revealing the Secret of the Conspiracy, they might by way of Reward obtain the Abolition, or at least a considerable Abatement of their Debts.

In this Uncertainty they resolv'd to do nothing without the Advice of *Q. Fabius Sanga*, who was the Protector of the *Allobroges*, according to the Custom of those Times, in which all the different Nations, subjected or allied to the Commonwealth, had in the Senate one of that Body, who took Care of their Interests. *Sanga*, after having represented to them the Horror and Danger of such an Undertaking, agreed with them to go instantly to the Consul, and inform him of the Proposals made to those Deputies. *Cicero* wou'd see them himself; he gain'd them with more solid Hopes than those of the Conspirators. They devoted themselves entirely to his Orders, and agreed with him to continue to treat with the Chiefs of the Conspiracy.

*Lentulus* hereupon, together with *Cicero*, *Statilius*, and the Principals of that Plot, meet secretly in a Place agreed on. The Deputies came thither likewise: The Affair for which they met, was debated anew. The Conspirators shew how advantageous and how easy the Thing was: The *Allobroges* start their Difficulties, and demand suitable Sureties. At last, after many Struggles, they feign to be convinc'd. The Treaty is ingross'd. They sign it, together with all the Chiefs of the Plot: A Duplicate is made of it, equally sign'd by all the Parties; and the Deputies demand it shou'd be left and trusted with them, that they might communicate it to the Chiefs of their Nation, who seeing the Hands of so many considerable Men, wou'd so much the sooner be dispos'd to ratify the Treaty. It was agreed, they shou'd set out at Night for their own Country; and shou'd take their way through *Catiline's* Camp, to get his Ratification. *Lentulus* gave them Letters for *Catiline*, which contain'd the Plan of the Conspiracy, and the Measures they had taken with his Accomplices to kill the Consul, and the best Part of the Senators. And one of the Conspirators, call'd *Volturnus*, of the City of *Cratona*, undertook to convoy those Deputies to *Catiline*, and acquaint him what Method was agreed on to make their Nation rise up in Arms.

*Cicero* being informed by the *Allobroges*, that they were to set out the very Night following, sent secretly Two Prætors with a sufficient Number of Guards, who posted themselves upon the *Milvian* Bridge, where they must needs pass. The *Allobroges* arriv'd accordingly, and were arrested with all that were with them. They surrendered to the Prætors without making any Resistance, like People surprized and frighten'd.

*Volturnus*

*Volturnus* was taken with them, together with a Box, wherein were all the Letters of the Conspirators.

The Consul having now in his Power the Proofs of the Conspiracy, summon'd the Senate very early in the Morning to the Temple of *Concord*; and sent to arrest *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, *Statilius*, *Galinius* and *Ceparius*, who were brought under a Guard before the Assembly. At the same Time the Deputies of the *Allobroges* were brought in, together with *Volturnus*, who, upon Promise of his Pardon, unfolded the whole Mystery of the Conspiracy. Their Letters were read publicly; and *Lentulus*, being convicted by his own Hand-writing, was obliged upon the Spot to divest himself of the *Pretorship*. He quitted his Purple Robe; another was given him more suitable to his present Condition; and he with his Accomplices were severally carried to separate Houses, which serv'd 'em for Prisons. *Cethegus* found Means to convey a Note to some of his Friends and Freedmen; by which he encouraged them to get the whole Party up, and to try the utmost in the Night to set him at Liberty. *Cicero* fearing some dangerous Tumult in their Behalf; summon'd the Senate together again in the Evening, to come to an ultimate Resolution concerning the Prisoners.

App. de  
Bell. Civ.  
l. 2. c. 1.

Sal. in Ca-  
til.

Plut. in  
Cicero.

*Syllanus*, Consul Elect for the Year ensuing, and who, according to Custom, was ask'd his Advice first, declar'd, That every one of them deserv'd to die. All that voted after him were of the same Opinion; except *Julius Caesar*, who made a long Speech in Praise of Clemency; and concluded, saying, That in an Affair which concern'd the Lives of Citizens, and the principal *Patricians* in *Rome*, it was advisable not to be too hasty in giving Judgment; but that they shou'd be well

guard.

guarded, and kept in some Towns of *Italy*, till *Catiline* had been vanquish'd. As he was an excellent Orator, he brought most of the Senators back to his Opinion. Even *Syllanus*, who had voted first for putting them to Death without Delay, retracted, and said, "That when he gave it as his Opinion, that they ought to be condemn'd to the highest Punishment, it ought to be understood only of Imprisonment, which was, said he, the greatest Punishment that cou'd be inflicted on a *Roman* Citizen.

But *Cato*, when it came to his turn to Vote, did in such lively Colours represent the Horror of their Designs; he shew'd with so many unanswerable Arguments, that their Lives were incompatible with the Safety of the State; and that, to save a small Number of Profligates, they were in a manner plunging a Dagger into the Bosom of every honest Man, that the whole Senate return'd to their former Opinion. The Sentence of their Death was pronounc'd; and *Cicero*, upon the Decree of the Senate only, and without carrying it before the Assembly of the People according to Custom, had them executed that Moment in the several Prisons where they had been confin'd. It is said, that after this Execution he met in the *Forum* a great Number of their Kindred and Accomplices, who yet knew nothing of their Fate, and who were only waiting for the Night to rescue them; and that turning himself towards 'em, he cried out to them, (*Vixerunt*) *They have lived*; a soften'd way which the *Romans* were wont to express themselves in, to avoid the Harshness of the Phrase, (*Mortui sunt*) *They are dead*; and that this only Word, like a Thunderbolt, did in an Instant dissipate that Multitude of Conspirators, and broke all their Designs.

It is impossible to express the Joy which the People shew'd, when they saw so dangerous a Plot quash'd, and the Conspirators punish'd. Nothing was heard but cursing of *Catiline*, and praising of *Cicero*: Most waited on him to his own House. Even the Women, to express their Gratitude, put out Lights at their Windows, as to light him. This Night was more glorious to him, than a Day of Triumph ever was to the most Victorious General. People scrupled not to say, That Great Generals had indeed acquired whole Provinces for the Commonwealth; but that *Cicero*, without Troops, without Battels, without Bloodshed, had saved it from Ruin. He was call'd the Second Founder of *Rome*; and the Father of his Country. All the several Orders of the State devoted themselves to him; and his Authority was so much the more solid, as he ow'd it to his own Virtue only; and the Esteem as well as Gratitude of his Fellow-Citizens.

*Cæsar*, though very considerable in the State Ap. Alex. by his Valour, his Eloquence, and his own Credit and that of his Friends, was treated in a quite different Manner. He had before been suspected of having dark Designs; and *Cicero* had been heard to say more than once, That he observ'd something in his whole Conduct, that discover'd a Spirit secretly aiming at Tyranny. What he had done to save the Lives of the Plotters, increas'd those Suspicions. When he came out of the Senate, where he had spoke with so much Warmth to save them from being put to Death, the Knights, who were upon Duty, held the Points of their Swords with a threatening Countenance towards him. They wou'd have kill'd him; but *Cicero*, whose Looks they watch'd as to receive their Orders from him, made them a Sign to let him escape.

l. 2. c. 1.

Plut. in  
Cæsar.

Not but that it was then reported, that he had been charged home by some of the Conspirators with being engaged in the Plot himself. But *Cicero*, who was very sensible how great his Credit was already in *Rome*, purposely avoided impeaching him with the rest, lest by his Credit, escaping himself the Rigor of the Laws, he might at the same Time save the rest of the Criminals. All the World was however convinc'd, that he had been privy to all their Evil Designs; and he was from that Time look'd upon as a Man capable of undertaking any Thing to make himself Great.

The News of the Execution of *Lentulus* and *Cethegus* was no sooner brought to *Catiline's* Camp, but several of the Plotters, seeing the Party of the Commonwealth prevail'd, got off privately. There was even a great Number of Soldiers, whom the Desire of Novelty and the Hope of Plunder had engaged in *Catiline's* Party, that deserted him. But the Head of the Party abated nothing of his first Designs. He resolv'd either to perish himself, or to ruin the Commonwealth. He made new Levies; he compleated his Cohorts with them, and in a short Time fill'd up his Legions: They were all mad with Fury, and thirsting after the Blood of their own Countrymen.

The first Design of *Catiline*, as we said above, was to advance with his Army to the very Gates of *Rome*, at the same Time that the Conspirators shou'd begin to act their Part within, by setting Fire to different Quarters of the Town at once. But the Consul having broke all their Measures by his Vigilance, and by putting to Death the Chiefs of the Plot; the Chief of the Conspiracy resolv'd to pass over into *Gaul*, and to cause all the Provinces that acknowledg'd the *Roman* Empire to revolt. *Q. Metellus Celer*, having penetrated

trated into his Design, cut off his Way thither by incamping just where he must needs pass, at the same Time that the Consul *Antonius* follow'd him close with his Army.

*Catiline* seeing himself surrounded with Enemies, and having no Place in *Italy* to retreat to, nor any Help to hope from *Rome*, was obliged to hazard a Battel, though with Forces inferior to those of *Antony*. That Consul, being at that Time laid up with the Gout, left the Conduct of his Army to *Petreius*, an old Officer, who had been in the Service above Thirty Years, and who from a private Centinel had rais'd himself by his Merit to the Degree of a General. But this sudden Illness of the Consul, who was rather a weak than a wicked Man, made it suspected that he was tender of *Catiline*, with whom he had had Engagements formerly; and he was even accus'd of it afterwards before the Magistrate. It was said, that this Fit of the Gout, which came upon him just on the Eve before he was to fight the Enemy of the Commonwealth, was but a Pretence, and a feign'd Illness either to retard the Ruin of *Catiline*, or at least to have no Hand in it himself. But the Rebels reap'd no manner of Advantage from this affected Delay. *Petreius*, from a Lieutenant-General now risen to be General, press'd so hard upon them, that he forc'd them to come to a Battel. The Fight was fierce and obstinate. If the Legions of the Commonwealth fought with great Valour, those of *Catiline* behav'd themselves with no less Obstinacy: All were resolv'd to vanquish, or to die. Not a Man gave Way: There was none that wou'd either give or accept of Quarter. The living Soldier immediately stepp'd into the Place of his Companion that fell before him: It was not till after a great Slaughter, and a long Resistance,



stance, that the Army of the State at last defeated that of the Rebels: Every Man of 'em was cut to Pieces: *Catiline*, who was resolv'd not to survive the Ruin of his Party, threw himself with the other Captains, into the thickest of the Fight; and after the Battel, that Famous Chief was found, with some little Remains of Life in him, upon a Heap of dead Bodies. Thro' the Agonies of Death were yet seen the Marks of that Audaciousness and Fierceness natural to him during his Life.

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*The End of the Twelfth Book.*

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BOOK

## B O O K XIII.

*Cæsar unites with Pompey and Crassus, and is chose Consul. Cicero banish'd: He is recall'd. The Government of Gaul and of Illyrium is conferr'd on Cæsar, who employs the Wealth of those Provinces to secure the Soldiery to him, and make himself Creatures in Rome. The Credit which his Victories and his Money gain him, makes Pompey uneasy, who openly breaks with him. Rome and all the Provinces divide between those Two Great Men, who decide their Quarrel in the Plains of Pharsalia. Cæsar, become Master of the whole Empire, is assassinated like a Tyrant, notwithstanding his Clemency.*

**W**E have just now seen what Success a Conspiracy had, which the Indiscretion of the Conspirators betray'd, and the wise Conduct of Cicero entirely defeated. Debauchery, Luxury, and Poverty, the natural Consequence of the former, had given it Birth: The uncommon Ambition of some private Men strengthened it at a Time when Rome had scarce any Thing left of a Republican Government, besides the bare Name. The Great Ones only reign'd with an absolute Authority. The whole Administration was center'd in a few Families, who handed the Consular Dignity about to one another. A small Number of Citizens did, by Turns, dispose of the Command of the Armies, as also the Government and Revenues of the Provinces. They being Arbiters of Peace  
and

and War, and accusom'd to the Homages and Honours that go along with Sovereign Power, it happen'd very seldom, that any of them, at the quitting of their great Places, could easily resolve to return to that Level which a private Life reduced them to with their Fellow-Citizens. Some gain'd the Affections of their Soldiers, either by allowing them a Remissness in the Military Discipline, or by self-interested Liberalities. Others bought with large Sums the Votes of the People, to raise themselves to the chief Posts, or to substitute their own Creatures in their room. Those that were out-brib'd, and lost the Day, eased their Envy, by endeavouring to render the Power of their Rivals suspected; and cast about to promote their Ruin at the Expence of the Publick Peace. The honest Men; as *Cato*, *Cicero*, *Catullus*, and others, all zealous Commonwealthsmen; look'd on that excessive Power of some Citizens, their immense Riches, and the common Affection of the Armies for their Generals, as so many Steps towards Slavery. They could not bear that those Great Men, under Pretence of serving their Country, should make themselves perpetual in such Offices; whose supreme Authority was liable to tempt them to make themselves independent. It was from those opposite Views and different Interests, that the last Commotions of the Commonwealth arose, wherein the whole World in a manner took part, some siding with *Pompey*, some with *Caesar*, the two Chiefs of two great Parties, and both equally suspected and fear'd on account of their Ambition and Valour. *Pompey* drew in a manner the Eyes of the whole World upon him: As we said above, he was a General before he was a Soldier, and his whole Life was no less than a continual Train of Victories. He had made War in the Three (then known) Parts of the World, and always return'd home loaded with Laurels. He had vanquish'd *Carinas* and *Carbo*, of

*Marius's*

*Marinus's* Party in *Italy*; *Domitius* in *Africa*; *Sertorius*, or rather *Perpenna*, in *Spain*; the Pyrates of *Cilicia*, in the *Mediterranean*; and since *Catiline's* Defeat, he was return'd home, after having subdued *Mithridates* and *Tygranes*. By so many Victories and Conquests, he was become greater than the Romans wish'd him, and than he could himself have expected. In that high Degree of Glory to which Fortune had all along in a manner handed him, he thought it became his Dignity to forbear being too familiar with his Fellow-Citizens. He seldom appear'd abroad; and if he came out of his House, he was always follow'd by a Crowd of his Dependants, whose numerous Appearance look'd more like the Court of a great Prince, than the Attendance of a Citizen of a Republick. Not that he made an ill Use of his Power; but Men of a free City could scarce bear he should thus affect the Manners and Ways of a Sovereign. Being accusom'd from his Youth to the Command of Armies, he could not reduce himself again to the Simplicity of a private Life. His Morals indeed were pure and untainted; he was even justly celebrated for his Temperance; no body ever suspected him of Covetousness; and in the Pursuit of Dignities, he was less fond of the Power that is inseparable from them, than of the Honours and Splendor that surrounds them. But more affected by Show than Ambition, he continually strove for Honours, that might raise him above all the Commanders of his Time. Moderate on every other Account, he could not bear any body should pretend to an equal Share of Glory: He was offended at any Equality therein, and it seem'd as if he coveted to be the only General of the Commonwealth, when he should have contented himself with being the first. This Jealousy of Command created him a great many Enemies, of whom *Cesar* was afterwards the most dangerous, and

and dreaded. The one, as we have seen, could bear no Equal ; the other no Superior. This ambitious Competition in two the greatest Men of the Universe, caus'd new Revolutions ; of which it will be proper to unravel the first Beginnings, and the Success.

*Caius Julius Caesar* was born of the illustrious Family of the *Julij* ; which, like all other great Families, had its Chimæra of bragging that it derived its Origin from *Ancbises* and *Venus*. He was the best-shap'd Man of his Time, dextrous at all manner of Exercises ; indefatigable, full of Valour, and of an exalted Courage, forming vast Designs ; magnificent in his Expences, and liberal even to Prodigality. Nature, which seem'd to have fram'd him to command all the rest of Mankind, had given him an Air of Empire, and a Dignity of Aspect inexpressible. But that Air of Grandeur was allay'd by the Sweetness and Gentleness of his Manners. His insinuating and invincible Eloquence was yet more owing to the Charms of his Person, than to the Strength of his Arguments. Those that were hard enough to resist the strong Impression which so many fine Qualities made, could not withstand his good Offices : And he began with conquering Men's Hearts, the surest Foundation of the Empire he aspir'd to. Born a simple Citizen of a Commonwealth, he form'd in a private Life the Project of becoming the Master and Sovereign of his Country. The Greatness, nor the Dangers of such an Undertaking, did not deter him. He found nothing superior to his Ambition, but the vast Extent of his Designs. The late Instances of *Marius* and *Sylla* made him sensible, that it was no impossible Thing to raise one's self to the supreme Power. But, wise and discreet even in his immoderate Desires, he shar'd out to different Seasons the Execution of his Projects. His Conceptions, always

ways just, notwithstanding their Extensiveness, carry'd him only towards his Plan of Sovereignty; and however conspicuous his Victories will hereafter appear, we ought to call them great Actions, only on this Account, that they were always the Consequences and the Effect of his vast Designs.

Scarce was *Sylla* dead, but he put in for Publick Employments: He brought with him all his Ambition. His Birth, one of the most conspicuous in the Commonwealth, ought to have devoted him to the Senate, and the Patrician Party: But being a Nephew of *Marius*, and *Cinna's* Son-in-Law, he declared for their Party, tho' almost ruin'd since *Sylla's* Dictatorship. He undertook to revive that Party, which was that of the Plebeians, and he flatter'd himself soon to be the Head of it; whereas in the other Party, he must have bent under *Pompey's* Authority, who was at the Head of the Senate. *Sylla*, as we observ'd before, had caus'd *Marius's* Trophies to be taken down during his Dictatorship. *Cesar* was but an *Edile*, when he caus'd the Statue of *Marius*, crown'd by the Hands of Victory, secretly to be made by some of the best Hands. He added some Inscriptions to his Honour, which mention'd his Victory over the *Cimbri*; and he caus'd these Trophies to be placed in the Capitol in the Night. All the People of *Rome* run the next Morning to see this Sight. *Sylla's* Adherents greatly censur'd so bold an Undertaking. No body doubted but it was *Cesar's* doing. His Enemies gave out, that he aim'd at Tyranny, and that such a Man ought to be punish'd, who durst of his private Authority raise Trophies again, which a Sovereign Magistrate had caus'd to be taken down: But the People, of whom *Marius* had declar'd himself the Protector, extoll'd *Cesar* to the Skies. Hereupon the Senate met. *Cesar* was publicly impeach'd:

Plat. in  
Cesar.

Year of  
Rome,  
690.

Catu-

*Catulus Lutatius*, one of the Chiefs, cry'd aloud, That it was no longer by private Contrivances and Plots that Men now attempted the Sovereign Power, but that *Caesar* was invading the Publick Liberty barefac'd. *Caesar*, on his Part, undertook to justify his Conduct; and pleaded his Cause with so much Strength of Eloquence, that notwithstanding the Cabal of his Enemies, he was absolv'd; and, by so bold an Action, made the People sensible of his own Power, and the Weakness of the Senate. The Exil'd, under the Countenance of his Authority, return'd to *Rome*; and he procur'd their being recall'd, under Pretence, that they had been condemn'd by a Citizen who had seiz'd on the Dictatorship and Sovereign Power with an arm'd Force.

The People, charm'd with the Zeal he express'd for their Party, founded nothing but his Praises: They spoke it aloud in *Rome*; that he was the only Man, who by his Courage and Undauntedness deserv'd to succeed *Marins* in his Dignities. The most considerable of all the Tribes, and the Heads of all the Factions, assur'd him, that there was nothing so high in the Commonwealth, but what he might pretend to; and that he might depend on the Votes of the People: And it was not long before they gave him Proofs of their Zeal, and of their being devoted entirely to his Interest.

The High Priest *Metellus* being dead, *Catulus Lutatius*, who had been Consul, and was respect'd by all the *Romans* for his Virtue, demanded to be admitted to that Dignity. *Caesar*, tho' of an inferior Rank, and who had not yet been honour'd with the Consulate, put up for it nevertheless among the rest of the Candidates. *Lutatius*, who look'd upon him as the most considerable, and a powerful Competitor, because of his Credit with the People, sent to offer him a large Sum, if he would

would drop his Pretensions. But *Caesar* had too great a Soul to be dazzled with a sordid Lucre. He sent to *Lullatius*, to tell him, that far from accepting of his Money, he would rather borrow of all his Friends to maintain his Pretensions. But he had no Occasion to do so; the People were too much in his Interest, and the Votes having been sent up, he carry'd it from *Lullatius* and all his Competitors.

He was rais'd to the Praetorship with the same Ease; and when his Time in that Office was expir'd, the People conferr'd on him the Government of Spain. It is said, that passing over the Alps thither, he went through a small Town, with but very few Inhabitants in it, and those extremely poor and miserable; and that those who attended him, asking each other in a joking way, Whether there were any Parties in that Country-Town, and Canvassing for the Magistracy; *Caesar* joining in their Conversation, told them, That he would rather chuse to be the First in that poor Village, than the Second in Rome.

All *Caesar's* Care, during his being in that Government, was to extend its Limits. He carried the War into *Galicia* and *Lusitania*, which he subjected to the Roman Empire; but in a Conquest of that Use to the State, he did not neglect his private Advantage. He engross'd all the Silver and Gold of those Provinces by violent Contributions, and therewith return'd to Rome, where he was receiv'd with new Applauses by the People.

The Riches he brought with him thence, was very considerable: He employ'd it to make himself new Creatures, whom he attach'd to his Fortune by his repeated Liberalities and Presents. He, as it were, abandon'd all he had to them; his House was open for them at all Times; nothing was hid from them but his Heart, which even his dearest Friends could never sound. He was ca-



pable of undertaking and of concealing every Thing ; always watchful, always present at all the Cabals from which he could draw any Advantage ; but without ever discovering his Mind. It was not doubted but he would have put himself at the Head of *Catiline's* Plot, if it had succeeded ; and that famous Rebel , who fancy'd he was promoting his own Greatness only , would have seen the Fruits of his Guilt snatch'd from him by a Man of a superior Interest in his own Party , and who had Cunning enough to let him go through all the Dangers of the Execution of that Enterprize. Yet the ill Success of that Undertaking, and the Remembrance of the Death of the *Gracchi*, assassinated before the Multitude , who ador'd them, made him sensible, that the sole Favour of the People was not sufficient to carry his Designs to Perfection ; and he rightly judg'd , that he could never arrive to the Supreme Power without the Command of Armies, and having a great Number of Friends, and even a Party in the Senate.

That August Assembly was then divided betwixt *Pompey* and *Crassus*, Enemies and Rivals in the Government, the one the mightiest, and the other the richest in *Rome*. The Commonwealth drew at least this Advantage from their Disunion, that by dividing the Senate, it kept their Power in a Balance, and maintained its Liberty. *Cæsar* resolv'd to unite himself sometimes with one, sometimes with the other, and as it were to borrow their Credit from Time to Time, with a Design to make use of it for arriving the easier to the Dignity of Consul, and the Command of Armies. But as he could not be Friends at the same Time with two open Enemies, he at first only meditated how he should reconcile them. He succeeded in it, and he alone profited by a Reconciliation so detrimental to the Publick Liberty. He artfully persuaded *Pompey* and *Crassus*

to

to trust him with the Consulate, as a Pledge which they both warmly pretended to, and which neither could have seen the other enjoy without Jealousy. He was elected Consul, together with *Calpurnius Bibulus*, by the Agreement of the Two united Parties. He secretly gain'd the most considerable, of which he form'd a Third Party, which in the End overthrew those very Men, who had the most contributed to his Advancement.

*Year of  
Rome,  
694.*

*Rome* saw it self then become a Prey to the Ambition of Three Men, who by the Credit of their united Parties arbitrarily disposed of all the Dignities and Employments in the Commonwealth. *Crassus*, always covetous and too rich for a private Person, was less intent upon strengthening his Party than upon heaping up more Riches. *Pompey*, satisfied with the outward Marks of Respect and Veneration that the Splendor of his Victories gave him, enjoy'd his Credit and Reputation in a dangerous Sloth. But *Cæsar*, of better Parts and more reserv'd than either, was silently laying the Foundation of his own Grandeur on the too great Security of both. He forgot no Means to preserve their Confidence, whilst, with repeated Presents, he endeavour'd to gain those Senators that were the most devoted to them. The Friends of *Pompey* and *Crassus* became unwarily *Cæsar's* Creatures: And that he might know all that was transacted within their private Dwellings, he brib'd even their Freedmen; who could refuse nothing to his liberal Temper.

But as these new Engagements with *Pompey* and *Crassus*, the Heads of the Senate, might render him suspected to the People; he was no sooner elected Consul, but he declar'd himself anew for a Party, which he always thought the most solid Foundation of his future Greatness. The dextrous manner in which he at one and the same Time created a Difference between *Pompey* and the

Senate, and between the Senate and the People, was the Masterpiece of his Politicks and Ability. He undertook to revive the *Lex Agraria*. He foresaw, that the Consent of *Pompey* and *Crassus*, which he had before-hand made sure of, and the Opposition of *Cato*, *Cicero*, and all zealous Commonwealthsmen, wou'd create reciprocal Enmities betwixt them; and that the People, always blind to their own Interest, would declare against those Senators, without heeding that they oppos'd *Caesar* with no other View than to preserve the Publick Liberty. It was as Consul that he soon propos'd the passing of a Law in the Senate, by which all the Lands of *Campania* shou'd be distributed to Twenty Thousand such Citizens as had at least Three Children. They were Lands, whose Revenue, because of their Fertility, had been always reserv'd for the most pressing Occasions of the State. The honestest Part of the Senate oppos'd this Law with all their Might. *Caesar*, who had foreseen this Opposition, immediately cry'd out, That he took the Gods to Witness, they forc'd him to have recourse to the Authority of the People. He accordingly summon'd their Assembly, and appear'd there accompany'd with *Pompey* and *Crassus*. He directed his Speech to *Pompey*; and ask'd him; Whether he did not approve of a Law so equitable in a Commonwealth, whose Members ought all to share the Publick Estates? In vain did the Senators about *Pompey* endeavour to make him suspect *Caesar's* Intentions; *Pompey*, without so much as hearing their Reasons, declar'd himself of his Opinion: Whether he thought himself oblig'd in Honour to support his first Engagements, or that, presuming too much on his own Power compar'd to *Caesar's* Credit, he despis'd the Suspicions of those Senators. He even answer'd *Caesar* with more Warmth than Prudence; *That if any body offer'd to oppose this Law Sword in Hand,*

Plut. in  
Caesare.

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he would take up Sword and Buckler to make it pass. Which was the same Thing, as declaring War against his own Party.

*Pompey*, by this Answer so unsuitable to his own true Interest, made himself odious to the Senate, and suspicious to his own Friends : Nor did so imprudent a Step gain him an Inch of the People's Favour, who thought themselves beholden to nobody but *Cæsar* for the obtaining of this Law. This Consul, supported by his own Party, by that of *Pompey* and of *Crassus*, made it pass, as it were, Sword in Hand, and in spite of the Remonstrances and Opposition of the most zealous Republicans. Twenty Commissioners were chosen, who shar'd the Lands of *Campania* among Twenty Thousand Roman Families. These prov'd hereafter as many Clients, whose proper Interest engag'd them to uphold what had been done under his Consulate. To prevent what his Successors might undertake against the Disposition of this Law, he got a second pass'd, which bound the whole Senate, and all those that shou'd be rais'd to any Magistracy, to take an Oath, That they shou'd never propose any Thing, that wou'd derogate from what had been decreed in the Assembly of the People during his Consulate. It was by so wise a Precaution that he render'd the Foundation of his Fortune so firm and durable, that Ten Years Absence, and all the ill Offices of his Enemies and those that envy'd him, cou'd never shake it.

But as he always fear'd that *Pompey* would give him the slip, and be gain'd over again to the Party of the zealous Republicans, he gave him his Daughter *Julia* in Marriage, as a new Pledge of their Union. *Pompey* gave his to *Servilius*, and *Cæsar* married *Calpurnia*, the Daughter of *Pisc.* Year of Rome, 694. whom he got nominated Consul for the Year ensuing. He at the same Time took for himself the Government of *Gaul* and *Illyricum* for Five

Years. That of *Syria* was allotted to *Crassus* at his Desire, not doubting but he shou'd get new Treasures there; and *Pompey* obtain'd that of both *Spains*, which he always govern'd by his Lieutenants, that he might not be obliged to quit the Luxuries of *Rome*. They tack'd this Division of the Governments to the Law for the Partition of the Lands, thereby to interest the Proprietors in maintaining their private Authority.

Thus did these Three Men share the World between them; as their own Patrimony. In vain did *Cato* remonstrate in all the Assemblies, That it was a Shame the Empire should thus be prostituted, and the Grandees of *Rome* in a manner barter away their Daughters, and give them in Lieu of a Dowry the Command of Armies, the Government of Provinces, and the highest Dignities of the Commonwealth.

*Cesar*, who was gentle and human to the common People, but proud towards the Great who offer'd to resist him, put *Cato* under Arrest, pretending that he oppos'd the passing of a Law receiv'd and approv'd by the unanimous Consent of the People. *Bibulus*, *Cesar's* Colleague in the Consulship, was driven out of the *Forum* by the People, provok'd and enrag'd at the Opposition he made. His *Fastes* were broke, and his *Lictors* wounded. Himself narrowly escap'd being kill'd, and was forc'd, for saving of his Life, to lie conceal'd in his own House some Time, without daring to appear abroad. *Lucullus* and *Cicero* met with but little better Treatment. The Vanquisher of *Tigranes* and *Mithridates*, threaten'd by *Cesar* that he shou'd be call'd to Account for the immense Treasures he had brought with him from the *East*, was forc'd, in order to pacify him, to fall at his Feet in a full Assembly, and to retire from Publick Business. This last was *Cesar's* secret View, who, to remove *Cicero* likewise from the Administration, whose

whose Ability and penetrating Genius he stood in fear of, was not ashamed to unite himself with *Pub. Clodius*, *Cicero's* declar'd Enemy, in order to ruin that Great Man, and to raise *Clodius* to the Dignity of Tribune of the People, though *Clodius* had a little before been accused of living in Adultery with *Pompeia*, *Cæsar's* Wife.

It was this very Accusation, and the Share *Cicero* had in it, which gave Birth to that violent Hatred of *Clodius* against him, tho' they had before liv'd in a very strict Friendship. *Publius Clodius* was a very handsome young Man, Rich, Eloquent, and lov'd by the People, whose Interests he supported; but Presumptuous, Proud, and Insolent on Account of his high Birth, and of the Credit he had in *Rome*. He fell violently in Love with *Pompeia*, *Cæsar's* Wife, and found the Way to win her. Nothing was wanting to their mutual Desires but an Opportunity, which the Watchfulness and Severity of *Aurelia*, *Cæsar's* Mother, render'd almost impossible. *Clodius*, carry'd away by his Passion, fancy'd he might introduce himself in his House by Favour of a particular Feast to be held that Night in Honour of the Mother of *Bacchus*. Men were excluded out of those Nocturnal Ceremonies. The very Master of the House, wherein they were celebrated, was oblig'd to quit his House, and none but Women or Maids were admitted to those Mysteries, over which they cou'd not cast too thick a Vail. It was commonly the Wife of a Consul, or a Prætor, who officiated as Priestess of that Goddess, whom it was unlawful to name, but who was reverenc'd under the Title of *Bona Dea*, the good Goddess.

*Clodius* disguiz'd himself in Women's Apparel, and in the Night was introduced into the House of *Aurelia* by a Servant of *Pompeia*, who being of Intelligence with her Mistress, managed that Intrigue. The Rendezvous was in the Chamber of

that very *Servant*, who had hid *Clodius* there, while she went to acquaint her Mistress with the Arrival of her Lover. But as she tarried too long, whether he was impatient, or perhaps desirous to know what were the Mysteries of the Feast among those Women, he came out of his lurking Hole. As ill Luck wou'd have it, he lost' his Way, and chanc'd to meet another *Servant-Maid* of the Family, who taking him for a Maid; propos'd, as *Plutarch* expresses it, to play with her. *Clodius* try'd to shun it; but the *Servant*, who in this Bacchanal was seiz'd with a kind of Fury, endeavour'd to pull him towards a Place where she saw some Light, that she might know who was the She that so unkindly denied her. *Clodius*, to save himself from her Hands, told her he was one of the Singing-women that had been hir'd for the Feast, and that he was looking for *Abra*, *Pompeia's* *Servant*. The Sound of his Voice betray'd him, and discover'd his Sex. The Maid frighten'd, runs to *Aurelia*, and acquaints her, that she has found a Man in the House in Women's Cloaths. An End is immediately put to the Ceremonies; the Mysteries are very hastily cover'd over: *Aurelia* orders the Doors to be lock'd; a Search is made, and the Criminal found. *Cæsar's* Mother, after having upbraided him with his Insolence and Impiety, made him go out; and the next Morning early, she gave notice to the Senate of what had happen'd in the Night in her House. The whole Town were scandaliz'd at it. The Women above all flew out in a violent Passion against *Clodius*; and a Tribune summon'd him to appear before the People, and took upon him to prosecute this Affair. This Magistrate flatter'd himself to be seconded by *Cæsar's* Credit. He thought that a Husband would not refuse to join his Resentment against a young insolent Fellow convicted of an unlawful Amour with his own Wife. It is

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certain, that in the ordinary Course of the World, *Cæsar* cou'd not avoid declaring himself against *Clodius*; but it was his Interest, in the present Circumstances of Affairs, not to fall out with *Clodius*, who had great Credit among the People. To make himself easy in so difficult a Point, without wounding his Honour or his Interest, he contented himself with putting away his Wife. The Tribune, after this Step, having summon'd him in an Assembly of the People to declare, if he was not certain, that *Clodius* had prophan'd the Mysteries of the *Bona Dea*; *Cæsar* answer'd him coldly, That he knew nothing of the Matter. *Why then*, replied the Tribune, *have you parted with your Wife? Because*, said he, *Cæsar's Wife shou'd not be so much as suspected.* With this cunning Answer he evaded prosecuting *Clodius*; and wou'd at the same Time insinuate, that he was convinc'd his Wife had been more imprudent in this Affair than Criminal.

*Clodius*, having now nothing to fear from *Cæsar's* Resentment, among the several Things he pleaded in his Defence, maintain'd, that *Aurelia* had mistaken him for another; and offer'd to prove, that the very Night of the Feast he was out of *Rome*, and at too great a Distance to be able to return that Night, whatever Speed he cou'd have made. But *Cicero* rose, and in full Assembly declar'd, that he came to his House that Evening, and had discours'd him on several Heads. It is pretended, that *Cicero* witness'd this, less out of a Religious Concern, than out of Complaisance for *Terentia* his Wife, who took this Opportunity of creating a Misunderstanding between him and *Clodius*, whose Sister she fear'd he would marry, after having set her aside; it being reported that he bore her no Ill-will. But whatever might move him to this, his Evidence did not prevail over *Clodius's* Credit, nor over the Money he gave to his Judges. The Criminal was acquitted, and he had no sooner



clear'd himself of so dangerous an Affair, but he meditated which way he should be reveng'd of *Cicero*.

The Office of Tribune of the People seem'd to him a Magistracy, that would enable him to signalize his Hatred with Impunity : But he was a *Patrician* by Birth, and by the Laws that Dignity could not be possess'd by any but *Plebeians*. To remove this Obstacle, he got himself adopted into a *Plebeian* Family, by *M. Fonteius*. By means of this Adoption, and the Credit he had in *Rome*, he easily got chosen one of the Tribunes.

*Treat of  
Rome,  
695.*

To render himself more popular still, he began the Exercise of his Dignity by proposing new Laws, all in favour of the *Plebeians*. He at the same Time brought *Piso* and *Gabinus*, the Two Consuls for that Year, over to his Interest by good Management. That they might not cross him in his Project of Revenge against *Cicero*, he procur'd for them the Government of the Two richest Provinces in the Commonwealth. After having thus taken these different Measures in regard to the People and the Senate, he applied himself to the gaining of *Crassus*, *Cesar*, and *Pompey*, who by an Interest at that Time superior to all his Contrivances and Cabals, might have snatch'd his Victim from him. But he found those *Grandeers*, who might be call'd the Sovereigns of *Rome*, dispos'd to concur with him in his Resentment. *Crassus* had actually fallen out with *Cicero* ; *Cesar*, since *Catiline's* Affair, wish'd him no better ; and *Pompey* then united with *Cesar*, and besides always a weak Friend, was not capable of undertaking the Defence of a Man against whom *Cesar* preserv'd a secret Spite.

*Plut. in  
Cæs. &  
Cicéron.  
Ap. l. 2.  
de bell.  
civ. c. 4.*

*Clodius* having taken these Measures, impeach'd *Cicero* before the Assembly of the People, for having put *Lentulus*, *Cethegus*, and the other Accomplices of *Catiline*, to Death, contrary to all Laws, and

and without so much as consulting the People, who were the natural Judges of all Citizens in Criminal Matters. Though *Cicero* had done nothing but what the Senate agreed to, he easily perceiv'd, that without a powerful Protection he should hardly escape *Clodius's* Fury during the Year of his Tribunate. He first went to *Cesar*, and intreated that he might follow him into *Gaul* as one of his Lieutenants. *Cesar*, who desir'd no better Thing than to have him out of the Senate and the Administration, readily consented, *Clodius*, who perceiv'd that that Employment, together with the Absence of *Cicero*, would oblige him to stop his Proceedings against him, feign'd himself dispos'd to a Reconciliation. He sent him word by some common Friends, that he was not averse to live again in Amity with him, and was conscious, that his Wife *Terentia* had been the chief Occasion of his giving that Evidence against him in the Affair of *Pompeia*.

*Cicero*, allur'd by those vain Hopes of a speedy Agreement, thank'd *Cesar* for his Employment, return'd to the Senate, and follow'd Publick Business again. But *Cesar*, who had resolv'd, whatever it cost, to have him out, incens'd at this Change, united with *Clodius* in the Pursuit of his Ruin; and he made *Pompey* promise that he should no ways intermeddle in this Affair in behalf of *Cicero*. *Clodius* hereupon resum'd his Impeachment. *Cicero*, seeing himself in so much Danger, changed his Habit; and having let his Beard and his Hair grow, went about to solicit the Assistance of his Friends, and the Protection of the Grantees of *Rome*, being attended with a great Number of Knights. The Senate, mov'd at the Wrong that was doing to so honest a Man, whom they regarded as one of the principal Ornaments of their Body, were for going into Mourning as for a Publick Calamity: But the Consuls, bribed by *Clodius*,

*Clodius*, oppos'd it; himself, attended with an insolent Band of arm'd Slaves, kept the Senate as besieg'd; so that they could not take any Resolution to *Cicero's* Advantage.

That Great Man, prosecuted by a Mad-man, and an implacable Enemy, had recourse to *Pompey*, to whom he had done considerable Services in all Things relating to the Government, and who ow'd him most of the Employments which were conferr'd on him by the Votes of the People.

*Pompey*, no ways ignorant of *Clodius's* Designs, was retir'd to his Country-Seat, that he might not be expos'd to the Reproaches of his not stirring in behalf of his Friend, if he had staid in Rome. *Cicero* at first sent his Son-in-Law *Piso* to him, who brought nothing back from him but such equivocal and evasive Answers, which the Great alone know so well how to make, to excuse themselves from granting what they cannot openly refuse, without disgracing themselves. *Cicero* flatter'd himself, that if he went in Person, he should have better Luck; he went himself therefore to his House. *Pompey*, knowing himself incapable of bearing his Presence, and yet resolving not to break his Word with *Cesar*, went out at a back Door, and sent him Word, that he was return'd to Rome. *Cicero*, no longer doubting that he was abandon'd by him, did in a manner abandon himself; and that Man, so eloquent, so powerful by the Force of his Rhetorick, and the Strength of his Arguments, when he pleaded the Cause of other People, despair'd of saving himself, and wanted Words to justify an Action, that had been applauded by the whole Senate, and prais'd by the unanimous Voice of the People. He banish'd himself, quitted Rome in the Night, and retir'd into Greece. *Clodius*, having reduc'd him to that Extremity, got the Decree of his Banishment pass'd. By the same Decree, that furious Tribune,

bune, who had drawn it up, obtain'd, that his City and Country-Houses should be pull'd down to the Ground, and his Goods sold by Auction by the common Ministers of Justice; which he saw executed soon after, that he might leave Monuments of his Resentment and Power.

*Clodius*, having forc'd *Cicero* to fly, thought himself sole and absolute Master of the Government. He even presumed to attack *Pompey* himself; and propos'd in the Assembly of the People, to inspect the Conduct of that great Commander, during the Wars in the East. But he soon found, that his Power was founded only as it were on a borrow'd Credit; and that of himself he could not have accomplish'd *Cicero's* Ruin, if some powerful Cabals, of which he fancied himself the Chief, tho' but the Instrument and Minister, had not concurr'd with him in that Affair.

*Pompey*, attacked in so sensible a Part, forgot his secret Engagements with *Cesar*, and resolv'd to procure *Cicero's* Restoration, to oppose him to *Clodius*. This was the Occasion of new Broils; they even came to Blows; but *Pompey's* Party prov'd so strong, that *Clodius* was forc'd to yield; and the Senate put an end to those Disputes by one bold Action: They suspended all Courts of Justice, and made a Decree, which forbade the Magistrates taking Cognizance of any Affair whatever, till the Repeal of *Cicero* had first been decreed. That Great Man return'd to his own Country, after Sixteen Months Banishment. The Cities thro' which he pass'd paid him an uncommon Respect; and he says himself, *That he was brought back again to Rome as it were in the Arms of the Inhabitants of all Italy.* His whole Journey was one continual Triumph. When he came near *Rome*, the Gracians, the Knights, the People, all went out to meet him, and the Senate, order'd by a Publick Decree, that his Houses, which *Clodius* had caus'd to

Plut. in  
Cicer.

App. l. 2.  
c. 45.

Year of  
Rome,  
695.  
Vell. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 45.

to be pull'd down, should be rebuilt at the Publick Charge.

*Cesar*, who unbosom'd himself but little in those Cabals, saw *Cicero's* Restoration, without offering to hinder it, and seem'd at that Time entirely taken up with the Affairs of his Government.

The Consuls, at the Expiration of their Office, had usually the Government of some of the Provinces conferr'd on them; and *Cesar*, as we have seen, agreed with *Pompey* and *Craesus*, to accept of the *Gallia Cisalpina*, in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. *Vatinius*, Tribune of the People, and a Creature of *Cesar*, got that of *Illirium*, and the *Gallia Transalpina* to be added to the first; which contain'd *Provence*, and part of *Dauphiné* and *Languedoc*, which *Cesar* coveted extremely, that he might thence carry his Arms farther; and which the very Senate agreed to, because they did not think their Interest strong enough to refuse him.

*Cesar* had chosen those Provinces as a Field of Battel fit to acquire him a great Name. He look'd on the Conquest of all *Gaul* as on an Object worthy of his great Courage and Valour, and flatter'd himself at the same Time he should there amass great Treasures, still more necessary to support his Credit at *Rome*, than to bear the Expences of the War. He set out for the Conquest of *Gaul*, at the Head of Four Legions, and *Pompey* lent him another afterwards, which he spared him from the Army that he had under his Command, as Governor of *Spain* and *Lybia*. *Cesar's* Wars, his Battels and Victories, are unknown to no body. He triumph'd within the Space of Ten Years over the *Helvetians*, whom he forc'd to confine themselves among their Mountains: He attack'd and defeated *Ariovistus*, King of the *Almains*, whom he made War upon, tho' that Prince had been admitted among the Allies of the *Roman* Nation. He afterwards made the *Belga* yield to his Laws; he

conquer'd all *Gaul*; and the *Romans*, under his Conduct, cross'd the Sea, and for the first Time set up their Eagles in *Great Britain*. It is said, that he either took by Force Eight Hundred Cities; or made them yield to the Terror of his Arms; that he subdued Three Hundred different Nations; that he defeated in several different Battels Three Millions of Men, of which One Million were kill'd in the Field of Battel, and another Million made Prisoners; Circumstances which would seem to us exorbitant and magnify'd, if we had not for Vouchers *Plutarch*, and other *Roman Historians*.

It is certain, that the Commonwealth had never seen a greater Captain, if we examine his Conduct in the Command of Armies, his uncommon Valour in Fight, and the moderate Use he made of his Victories. But these great Qualifications were darkned by his immoderate Ambition, and an insatiable Desire of accumulating Riches, which he took to be the surest Instrument to bring his great Designs to a desired Issue. The Moment he arriv'd in *Gaul*, every Thing in his Camp was venal; Places, Governments, Wars, Alliances; he made a Trade of every Thing. He plundered the Temples of the Gods, and the Lands of the Allies. All that tended to the Increase of his Power, seem'd just and honourable to him; and *Cicero* relates, that he had frequently these Lines of *Euripides* in his Mouth: *If Right is to be violated, it is only for the sake of Empire; but in Matters of less Consequence, Men cannot be too observant of Justice.* The Senate, intent upon his Conduct, design'd to call him to an Account, and sent Commissioners as far as *Gaul*, to know the Causes of Complaint of their Allies. *Cato*, upon the Return of those Commissioners, propos'd to deliver him up to *Ariovistus*, thereby to shew that the Commonwealth disapprov'd his unjust Wars, and to bring down upon his single Head

Head the celestial Vengeance for Faith violated. But the Splendor of his Victories, the Affection of the People, and the Money he bestow'd among the Senators, insensibly chang'd those Complaints into Praises. His Robberies were construed for Political Actions; the Gods were thank'd in a solemn manner for his Sacrileges; and great Vices became great Virtues, because they prov'd successful.

*Cæsar* ow'd these Successes to his uncommon Valour, and the passionate Love his Soldiers bore him. They adored him, they followed him in the greatest Dangers with that entire Confidence, which is extremely honourable to a General; and those, who under other Commanders would have fought but feebly, show'd under him an invincible Courage, and by his Example, became so many *Cæsars*. He had engag'd them to his Person and his Fortune by that unwearied Care he took of their Subsistence, and by magnificent Presents. He doubled their Pay; and the Corn, that used to be measured out to them by *Rations*, he allow'd them without Measure. To the Veterans, he assign'd Lands and Possessions. It seem'd as if he was but the Steward of the vast Riches he was acquiring every Day; and that he sav'd them with no other View, than to make them the Price of Valour, and the Reward of Merit. He even us'd to pay the Debts of his principal Officers, and gave to understand to such as stood engaged for large Sums, that they should never be in any Danger from their Creditors, as long as they follow'd his Colours. Soldiers and Officers, all of them grounded the Hopes of their Fortune on the Generosity and Protection of their General; by which Means the Soldiers of the Commonwealth insensibly became the Soldiers of *Cæsar*.

He was not only intent upon gaining the Army; from the remotest Parts of *Gaul*; he had an Eye

upon the Publick Administration, and was in a manner present in all the *Comitia* and Assemblies of the People. Nothing was transacted there, without his Privity. His Credit and Money influenc'd most Deliberations of the Senate. He had in both those Assemblies powerful Friends and Creatures entirely devoted to his Interest. He supply'd them with Money in Abundance, either to pay their Debts, or to raise themselves to the chief Offices in the Commonwealth. It was with these Sums that he bought their Votes and their Liberty.

*Emilius Paulus*, being Consul, got of him upwards of Nine Hundred Thousand Crowns, that he might not oppose his Designs during his Consulate. He

*Year of Rome,*  
703.

gave still more to *Curio*, a Tribune of the People; a Man of a violent and factious Spirit, but Artful and Eloquent, who had sold him his Faith, but who to serve him more effectually, conceal'd his secret Obligations and Engagements, affecting in all he did, to act only for the Good of the People.

*Val. Max.*

*l. 9. c. 1.*

*Velleius,*

*l. 2. c. 48.*

*Pompey's* Friends made him reflect seriously on the Conduct of *Cæsar*, and represented to him the Danger which threatned the Commonwealth. *Pompey* surpriz'd, could not help blushing, when he perceiv'd that he had been over-reach'd by a Man, whose Abillities prov'd greater than his own; and that he had perhaps given himself a Master, whilst he only intended to favour his Father-in-Law and his Friend. He thereupon resolv'd to undo what he conceiv'd to be his own Work, and to subvert *Cæsar's* Fortune: He flatter'd himself, that being Master of the Senate, nothing cou'd withstand him. *Cæsar*, on his Part, grounded his Hopes on a victorious Army; and the Affection of the People.

The Jealousy of the Command, and a mutual Emulation of Glory, made them soon perceive that they were Enemies, though still preserving the

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the outward Appearance of their former Union. But *Craſſus*, who by his Credit and immense Riches balanced the Power of both, being ſlain in the *Parthian* War, they found themſelves at Liberty to declare their Sentiments openly. And the Death of *Julia*, *Cæſar*'s Daughter, and *Pompey*'s Wife, which fell out ſoon afterwards, put an end to what little Friendſhip remain'd betwixt the Father and Son-in-Law.

*Rome* was then in a prodigious Diſorder, Bribery and Venality of Places were no longer conceal'd. Thoſe that ſtood Candidates brought their Money openly to the Place of Election. It was without Shame diſtributed among the Heads of Faction; and thoſe who had received it, employ'd Force and Violence rather than the Number of Votes, to cauſe them to be elected, who had thus paid them: So that ſcarce any Office was beſtow'd, but what had been diſputed Sword in Hand, and had coſt the Lives of many Citizens. Both Parties proving of equal Force, ſeparated often without coming to any Choice: And this Diſorder increas'd ſo much, that *Rome* was once Eight Months without Magiſtrates. *Pompey* was ſuſpected to keep up that Confuſion in the Government, in order to center the whole Authority in himſelf. His Creatures, favouring his ambitious Deſigns, expreſs'd in their Speeches an Abhorrence of that untamed Licentiousneſs that reign'd in all the Elections. Several, to ſound the Bottom of People's Hearts, ſaid, That a Monarchical State was preferable to a Commonwealth, which was degenerated into a total Anarchy: That they muſt at leaſt have recourſe to a Dictator; and that in a Choice, now become neceſſary, they ought to put themſelves under the Direction of the tendereſt Phyſician; by which they cunningly pointed out *Pompey*, without naming him. The Affair was push'd on with ſo much Warmth by his Adherents, that

that the Senate seem'd dispos'd to confer that great Dignity upon him, which differ'd from Royalty only by being limited, and had shorter Duration. But *Cato*, who was always watchful over the publick Liberty, having penetrated *Pompey's* Designs, and fearing lest with the great Power he had, he might make himself perpetual Dictator, insinuated to the Senate, That it would be more proper to chuse him sole Consul without a Colleague. He propos'd this, to preserve yet some Image of a Commonwealth; and because a Consul was bound, when call'd upon, to give an Account of his Conduct to the People and the Senate, which a Dictator was exempted from.

The Senate approv'd the Expedient propos'd by *Cato*: *Pompey* was elected sole Consul. They at the same Time continued his Government, and the Command of those Armies to him that obey'd him before, and they gave him Leave to take a Thousand Talents annually out of the Treasury for their Pay. He soon after married *Cornelia*, Daughter of *Metellus Pius*; and though the Consulate had been conferr'd on him without a Colleague, he associated his Father-in-Law into that Dignity for the Five last Months of his Consulship. Which Moderation render'd him still dearer to the Senate.

*Cesar* took hence an Opportunity to ask in his turn the Consulate, and the Continuation of his Governments. *Pompey* did not oppose him; but *Marcellus* and *Lentulus*, at his Instigation, being his Creatures, alledg'd, with a Design to exclude *Cesar*, That the Laws did not allow to admit any absent Person among the Candidates.

*Pompey's* View in starting this Obstacle, was to engage *Cesar* to abandon the Government of *Gaul*, and the Command of his Army, to come in Person to solicit the Consulate. But *Cesar*, who saw through the Artifice, chose to remain at the

Head of his Forces; and it is reported, that when he heard the Cabal of his Adversaries had prevail'd to have his Desires rejected, he said, laying his Hand upon his Sword, *This shall obtain me what they so unjustly refuse me.* Others attribute this Answer to one of his principal Officers, whom he had sent from the Army to demand that Dignity for him.

The Senate, who acted no longer but according to the Impression of *Caesar's* Enemies, ordain'd, That Two Legions shou'd be draughted out of the Troops under his and *Pompey's* Command, under Pretence of sending them into *Syria* against the *Parthians*, who were said to threaten that Province with an Incurſion ſince *Crassus's* Defeat. *Pompey*, to weaken *Caesar's* Army, sent to demand that Legion back, which he had lent him. *Appius Claudius* was sent on that Commission. Though *Caesar* readily penetrated his Enemies Designs, yet he delivered those Two Legions to the Envoy of the Senate. He loaded the Officers with Presents, and caus'd Two Hundred and Fifty Drachma's (about Four Pounds *Sterling*) to be distributed to every private Soldier, as a Recompence for his Services. But as all that had been given out concerning the Designs of the *Parthians*, was only a Pretence made use of to weaken *Caesar's* Army, and draw Two Legions from it; those Troops were no sooner arrived in *Italy*, but they had Quarters assign'd them in *Campania*, and near *Capua*, instead of being sent to the *East*.

*Appius*, at his Return, did *Caesar* a considerable Piece of Service, though contrary to his Intention. This Man, to flatter *Pompey's* Ambition, told him, that the whole Army in *Gaul* wish'd him their General; and that the Soldiers, suspecting *Caesar* aim'd at Monarchy, were resolv'd to desert him, as soon as they shou'd be in *Italy*.

*Pompey,*

*Pompey*, seduced by this false Representation, neglected the Precautions that were necessary against an Enemy, who commanded a powerful Army; and when the Chief of his Party, amazed to see him lull'd asleep in a deceitful Security, represented to him, how much it import'd him to strengthen himself with new Levies, he answer'd them proudly, *That he needed only stamp with his Foot on the Ground, and thence he cou'd make arm'd Legions arise.* He spoke with so much Confidence only, because he flatter'd himself, that if it came to an open Rupture, Part of *Cæsar's* Army wou'd desert to him. However, as he fear'd the Fortune and Valour of that Great Commander, he endeavour'd to have him out of the Government of *Gaul* without coming to an open Rupture. He concerted Measures with the Senate to nominate his Successor: The Affair was put to Consideration: Every body agreed, That the Time of his Commission being near expir'd, it was just to send some Senator to *Gaul*, who shou'd take on him the Government of that Province, and the Command of the Army there. *Curio*, a Tribune of the People, who wou'd seem to adhere to neither Party, though secretly devoted to *Cæsar*, declar'd himself for the general Sentiments of the Senators, to whom he paid great Compliments upon the same. But he added, That to secure the publick Liberty, it was likewise necessary, that *Pompey* shou'd at the same Time Disband the Armies under his Command, and quit the Governments of *Spain* and *Lybia*. *Pompey's* Friends reply'd to this, That the Time of his Commission was not at an End, as *Cæsar's* was. But *Pompey* himself answer'd, That he had taken those Employments only out of Respect to the Senate, and was ready to lay them down, without waiting till the Time allow'd by the Laws shou'd be expired. He promised to be his own Deposer, and in order to

determine the Senate to give that Mostent a Successor to *Caesar*, he added with a seeming Candor, That he was thoroughly inform'd of his Intentions; and that, as his Friend and Relation, he could assure them; That that Great General, wearied with a Ten Years War against the most Warlike Nations of the Earth, coveted nothing more than to taste the sweets of a peaceable Life in his own Native Country.

*Curio*, who discern'd all the Artifice of this Speech, and saw that *Pompey* had spoken so positively about *Caesar's* Sentiments, with no other View, than to obtain that his Successor should be named & answer'd, (It was not sufficient he should promise to quit his Governments, it behov'd he should do it: that very Instant. That they were both too powerful; and the Interest of the Commonwealth requir'd, both should become private Men at the same Time. He concluded, It was his Opinion, that unless they did both at the same Time quit the Command of their Armies, they both should be declared Enemies of the Commonwealth.

*Curio* had no other Design, in pressing so warmly their mutual Abdication, but to conceal his secret Inclination to *Caesar's* Interest; and he did it the more readily, because he was very well inform'd, *Pompey* could never resolve to quit his Governments; and although he had done it, and *Caesar* should likewise have been obliged to quit the Command of his Army, *Curio* was very sensible by how many Ties *Caesar* had bound his Officers and Soldiers to his Fortune; and that it would not be difficult for him to lift those Troops anew under his Colours, which were formerly kept in his Power.

This Tribune not having got his Opinion to prevail, broke up the Senate according to the Power of his Office. The Consuls, *C. Claudius Marcellus*, and *L. Cornelius Lentulus*, sent out

together again after a few Days. *Marcellus*, first Consul, and an open Adherent of *Pompey*, took a particular Method to get him continued in his Governments. He put the Questions about *Cæsar* and *Pompey* separately: And the first Question was, Whether the Senators thought it reasonable, that *Pompey* shou'd lay down the Authority where-with the Senate had invested him? The Majority was for the Negative. He then told the Votes concerning *Cæsar*, after having put the Question, Whether it was their Opinion to give *Cæsar* a Successor? To which all unanimously consented. But *Curio*, tho' he was not then a Tribune, having put the Question, Whether the Senate did not think it yet more adviseable, that both should quit the Command of their Armies? After telling the Voices, they found Three Hundred and Seventy for the Affirmative, against, no more than Twenty Two, who obstinately retain'd their Opinion, That *Pompey* only should keep the Command of his Forces.

*Marcellus*, ashamed and angry to see his Party reduc'd to so small a Number, cried out with much Warmth, *Well then! let Cæsar be your Master, since you will have it so.* Upon which some of his Friends having added, to intimidate the Senate, That *Cæsar* was come on this Side the *Alps*, and was marching at the Head of his whole Army strait for *Rome*, and *Curio* having shewn the Impertinence of that News; the Consul, enrag'd that he cou'd not bring the Senate back to his own Opinion, went out abruptly, saying, That since he was hindred in his Care of the Commonwealth, he wou'd apply such Remedies to the impending Ruin, as he shou'd think most fitting according to the Power of his Office. Thence he went with his Colleague *Lentulus*, a little way out of Town, to a House where *Pompey* was, and presenting him a Sword, he said, speaking in the Name of both;

*We command you to march against Cæsar, and to fight for the Defence of our Native Country.* Pompey declar'd, that he wou'd obey them; and added with a feign'd Modesty, *Unless a more happy Expedient be first found out.*

*Cæsar*, inform'd of all the Transactions at *Rome*, that he might always have the Appearance of Justice on his Side, wrote several Times to the Senate with a great deal of Temper, and as desiring Peace. He required, either they should continue him in his Government, as they had granted *Pompey*; or that he might be allow'd to put up for the Consulate, though absent from *Rome*. He afterwards renew'd *Curio's* Proposals, insisting, that *Pompey* and he should quit their Governments, and Command of the Armies at the same Time. But the Senators, who for the greatest part favour'd *Pompey*, having rejected all those Proposals, *Cæsar* fell so low as only to demand, that the Government of *Illirium* and the Command of Two Legions shou'd be continued to him; which however, it is probable, he wou'd never have propos'd, if he had believed they would have granted it him. But he was very well appriz'd, that the contrary Party had resolv'd to disarm him entirely; and indeed they rejected every one of his Proposals. *Marcellus*, first Consul, and entirely devoted to *Pompey*, naturally proud and haughty, said it was shameful to the Commonwealth to treat with one of her Subjects, while he was yet in Arms. And *Lentulus*, his Colleague, overloaded with Debts, and who could not stand it but by favour of the Publick Disturbances, was not sorry that a Civil War should happen, because he might make himself considerable, and amass great Riches, if his Party prevail'd.

*Cæsar*, who rightly foresaw the Success of this Negotiation, pass'd the *Alps* at the Head of the Third Legion, and halted at *Ravenna*. He sent  
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immediately *Fabius*, one of his Lieutenants, with Letters for the Senate to *Rome*. They began with a lofty Relation of all his great Exploits; and begg'd that some Regard should be had to his Services. He next protested, that he was ready to quit the Command jointly with *Pompey*; but if that General pretended to keep it, he on his part should know how to maintain himself at the Head of his Legions; that he even design'd to be at *Rome* in a few Days, to revenge his private Injuries, and those that were done to his Country.

These last threatening Words rais'd the whole Senate against him. *Lentulus* said, it was useless to deliberate upon a Letter which contain'd a Declaration of War; and added, in a violent Passion, there was more occasion to take up Arms, than to count the Votes concerning so great a Robber as *Cæsar*. *Lucius Domitius* was instantly appointed his Successor, and they gave him Four Thousand new Levies to enable him to go and take Possession of his Government. Then they form'd the Decree of the Senate, as dictated by the most declared Enemies of *Cæsar*. It was therein ordain'd, that he should within such a Time disband his Army; and, if he refused to obey, that he should be prosecuted as an Enemy of the Commonwealth. To Plur. in Cæf. no Purpose did *Mark Antony*, then Tribune, back'd by *Curio* and *Cassius*, endeavour, by virtue of their Office, to oppose this Decree: The Consuls, provok'd at their Opposition, drove them forcibly out of the Senate. *Pompey* himself had sent secretly for Soldiers to insult 'em. *Antony*, before he went, cried out that the Tribunitian Dignity, which hitherto had been kept sacred, was no longer secure from Insult; but that he foresaw, that such violent Proceedings were only the Prelude of bloody Wars, Proscriptions and Murders. And at going off, he made horrible Imprecations against such as were the Cause of those Disasters: And these Three



Senators, after having disguis'd themselves like Slaves, for fear of being known, made all the Haste they could to *Caesar's* Camp.

The Decree of the Senate was like a Declaration of War. Two powerful Parties were seen to take up Arms, both pretending to do it for the Defence of the Laws and Liberty; but whose Chiefs had no other but a secret View to establish their own Power, and to destroy that Liberty and those very Laws. *Pompey's* Party had something more of a specious Outside: He cover'd himself with the awful Name of the Commonwealth, which acknowledg'd him for her General, and the whole Senate with the Consuls follow'd his Ensigns. *Caesar* had of his Side the Affections of the People, supported by a victorious Army; and if *Pompey's* Party had a greater Appearance of Justice, that of his Rival was the most powerful and the sequest.

The Senate flatter'd themselves, that *Caesar* could not have drawn his Forces so soon from the remotest Part of *Gaul*, where they were quarter'd in different Provinces; and that before they had pass'd the *Alps*, *Pompey* would have a considerable Army on Foot. But *Caesar*, whose Foresight and Activity were matchless, resolv'd to prevent his Enemies by the Suddenness and Boldness of his March. He was already at *Ravenna*, as we have said. He immediately sent a secret Order to such of his Troops as were the nearest, to advance towards the *Rubicon*, a small River that parted his Government of *Gallia Cisalpina* from the rest of *Italy*.

He himself set out in the Evening, march'd all Night with an uncommon Diligence, and arrived at the Place appointed by break of Day, where he found about Five Thousand Foot, and Three Hundred Horse. He halted a while on the Bank of that little River. He was uneasy about the Success of his Undertaking, and all the Evils and Disasters of a Civil War, presented themselves at once

once to his Mind. *Cæsar*, brought up in the Bosom of a Commonwealth, could not, as he drew near to *Rome*, look on the approaching Ruin of his Country without being concern'd. He had hitherto thought himself sure of a Firmness of Soul, or rather an Insensibility, which he could not easily attain, and Liberty, ready to fall by his Arm, gave him some Remorse. *If I put off any longer the crossing of this River, (said he to the chief Officers about him) I am undone; and if I do cross it, How many People shall I make wretched!* But after having reflected on the Hatred and Inveteracy of his Enemies, and his own Strength, he threw himself into the River, and crosses it, saying what is common upon doubtful and dangerous Undertakings; *It is done. The Die is thrown.* He immediately march'd with all the Speed that it was possible to do with a Body of Infantry. He arrives before *Rimini*, surprizes the Place, and makes himself Master of it.

Plut. in  
Cæsar.  
App. l. 2.

It is impossible to express the Terror and Fear of all *Italy* and *Rome* it self, upon the News of the taking of that Place: They fancied this dreaded Captain already at the Gates of the City, with all the Forces he commanded in *Gaul*. The Senate met several Times without coming to any Resolution; their Minds were too fluctuating and divided. Several Senators, without proposing any Thing themselves, only contradicted the Advice of others; and in those tumultuous Assemblies, nothing was agreed on but what prov'd impossible to execute. *Pompey* was not without Uneasiness in this Confusion. He had neither Troops, nor strong Place to secure a Retreat, and was oblig'd to bear with the Reproaches of most part of the Senate, who complain'd, that he had suffer'd himself to be lull'd asleep by *Cæsar's* Letters, and the deceitful Show he made of desiring Peace. *Cato* himself told him, that he could not deny but he had warn'd

Plut. in  
Pomp.

warn'd him often, that the secret Designs of *Cæsar* were to make himself sole Master of the Government. I own, (reply'd *Pompey*) that you knew him better than I: You unravell'd his true Sentiments as they were in reality; but as for me, I have hitherto judg'd of 'em only by what I thought they should be. Every Senator thought himself privileg'd to make him Reproaches, and to advise him. He met with Opposition on all sides, and this fill'd his Mind with Fear and Suspensions. The very People now refus'd Obedience to their Magistrates; and every Man set up for the Arbitrer of his Duty, under Pretence of providing for his own Safety.

Dion. l. 41.

*Pompey* in this Confusion, seeing himself in Rome without Troops, and fearing, if he should arm the People, they would declare against him in Favour of *Cæsar*, resolv'd to carry the Seat of the War farther, and to go to *Apulia*, where the Two Legions were encamp'd, which *Cæsar* had surrender'd to *Appius*. He remonstrated to the Senate, that he should not be long in want of Soldiers, if they would but follow him out of Rome, and even out of Italy, in case he could not maintain himself there. That true Romans ought to think any Country theirs, where they could preserve their Liberty: That the Commonwealth had Two Legions near *Capua*, Two more in *Thessaly*; and that *Petretius* and *Afranius*, his Lieutenants in *Spain*, were at the Head of a powerful Army, entirely made up of Veterans; who were no ways inferior to those of *Cæsar*, either for Courage or Experience, besides the Troops dispers'd in the different Provinces of *Asia* and *Africa*, and the Succours that might be expected from the Kings in Alliance with the Roman State. The Consuls, and a great Number of Senators, all Friends or Creatures of *Pompey*, generously resolv'd to follow his Fortune. They left Rome in the Evening

vening very hastily : However dismal this Departure was, which distanc'd them from their Native Country, and was going to separate them from their Wives and Children, they consider'd *Rome*, where they could not maintain themselves, to be no other than *Cæsar's* Camp.

It was not long, indeed, before he made himself Master of it ; and he was receiv'd there by his Adherents, and by all the People with a general Applause. As in a Civil War, Money is no less necessary than Arms, he seiz'd on the Publick Treasure, in Spite of *Metellus*, Tribune of the People, who offer'd to hinder it : He even threaten'd to kill him, if he did not retire. And having taken thence Four Thousand One Hundred and Thirty Pound Weight of Gold, and Eighty Thousand Pound Weight of Silver, which makes near Two Hundred Thousand Pounds Sterling, he put himself in a Condition to march after *Pompey* and his Followers : But that General of the Senate, who was resolv'd to draw the War into Length, to have Time to gather more Forces, pass'd over from *Italy* into *Epirus*, and taking Shipping at *Brundisium*, he arriv'd in the Port of *Durachium*, or *Durazzo*, in *Istria*. *Cæsar* not being able to overtake him, made himself Master of all *Italy* in less than two Months. The Detail and particular Events of the Civil War do not belong to my Purpose. It is known, that the Empire cost *Cæsar* in a manner but One Hour's Time, since the Battel of *Pharsalia* decided the whole Matter. The Death of *Pompey*, soon after kill'd in *Egypt*, compleated the Fall of his Party. The Activity of *Cæsar*, and Rapidity of his Victories, gave no Time to cross him in his Designs. War carry'd him into different Climates ; Victory follow'd him almost every where ; and Glory never forsook him ; His Moderation and Clemency disarm'd

D. H.  
id. ibid.

*Fear of Rome.*  
705.  
D. H. l. 41.  
App. l. 2.  
Plut. in *Cæsar*.  
*Pomp.*  
*Cicer.*  
*Cæsar.*  
*Civ. Bell.*  
l. 1. & 2.  
*Florus.*  
*Eutrop.*  
*Vellej.*  
*Sueton.*  
*Zonaras.*

arm'd his Enemies quite ; and tho' educated by his Uncle *Marius*, he retain'd of him neither that obstinate Hatred, nor that cruel Desire of Revenge, which made that ancient Chief of a Party spill so much Blood.

*Cesar*, either more human, or more artful, always sacrific'd his private Resentments to the establishing of his Empire. He forgave all *Pompey's* Adherents. There were several whom he did not use otherwise than even his best Friends, when it came to the distributing of Places and Dignities in the Empire. All from that Time gave way to his Power, and Two Years after his passing the *Rubicon*, he enter'd *Rome* Master of the whole World, and triumphant over all his Enemies.

The Senate, after his Return, decreed him Extraordinary Honours, and an unlimited Authority, which left the Commonwealth but a Shadow of Liberty. He was appointed Consul for Ten Years, and perpetual Dictator. They gave him the Name of *Imperator*, and the August Title of *Father of his Country*. His Person was declar'd sacred and inviolable. This was reuniting and perpetuating in him alone the Power and yearly Prerogatives of all the Dignities of the State. They added to this Profusion of Honours the Privilege of sitting at all Publick Games in a gilded Chair, with a golden Crown upon his Head ; and it was ordain'd by a Decree, that even after his Decease, that Chair and Crown should be plac'd as usual at all the Publick Spectacles, to render his Memory immortal. Nothing was wanting now but the Title of King. He deliberated whether he should assume it, and he in a manner try'd on the Diadem. But having discern'd the Aversion the *Romans* had for the Name and Pomp of Royalty, he durst not venture to fix the Crown upon his Head in the Midst of a Commonwealth, whose Liber-

Liberty he had so lately oppress'd: He chose to appear in Publick neither as a Sovereign, nor as a private Person. He resolv'd upon a Third Expedient, more doubtful and dangerous. He weakly flatter'd himself to dazzle his Fellow-Citizens by I know not what strange and inconsistent Mixture of Liberty and absolute Power; and he was even bold enough to use Clemency at the Beginning of a Usurpation. It was to gain the Confidence of the Senate and the Republican Party, that contrary to the Advice of his best Friends, he broke his *Spanish* Guards, not considering, as they hinted to him, that Domination got by Force of Arms was not to be preserv'd but by the same Means. But *Cæsar*, now become the Master of the World, had too easily credited the Discourses of his Flatterers, who gave him to understand, That after having put an End to the Civil Wars, the Commonwealth was more concern'd in his Preservation than himself.

His Enemies took Advantage of his over-much Security; and turn'd those false Measures against himself. Most of the Senators had conferr'd those extraordinary Honours on him with no other View than to render him odious, and that they might work his Ruin the surer. The *Grandees* chiefly, who had follow'd *Pompey's* Fortune, and who could not forgive him their owing their Lives in the Plains of *Pharsalia* to him, upbraided themselves secretly for accepting of his Kindness, as having been in one Sense the Price of the Publick Liberty; and those whom he fancy'd his best Friends, accepted of his Favours only to have the freer Access to his Person, and to accomplish his Ruin.

He had form'd a Design to turn his Arms against the *Parthians*, to avenge the Defeat and Death of *Crassus*; and he was to set out upon that Expedition

tion in a few Days. His Creatures and Flatterers, to dispose the *Romans* to see him invested with the Title of King with less Reluctancy, made it their Business to give out, that the Books of the Sybils declar'd, that the *Parthians* could never be vanquish'd, unless the *Romans* had a King for their General. It is even affirm'd, that *Aurelius Cotta*, one of his Creatures, who had those Sacred Volumes in his keeping, was to make his Report out of them on the Ides of *March* to the Senate; and that *Caesar's* Friends, by way of qualifying the Matter on Account of the Commonwealth, were to propose that same Day, That he should only be stil'd Dictator in *Rome*, and all over *Italy*; but that he should be acknowledg'd a King, and take upon him that Title, in respect of all foreign Nations subject to the *Roman* Empire.

*Caesar's* Enemies made use of those Rumours to hasten his Ruin. They detested his Ambition, and all that were zealous Commonwealthsmen resolv'd rather to perish, than to see the entire Extinction of the Publick Liberty. It was agreed in private Cabals, that the Commonwealth cou'd be no longer maintain'd without the Death of the Dictator: And above Sixty Senators conspir'd against his Life,

*Brutus* and *Cassius*, whom *Caesar* had made Praetors for that Year, were at the Head of this Party. *Brutus* glory'd in being sprung from that Ancient *Brutus*, whom the Commonwealth own'd for its Founder. Love of Liberty was transferr'd to him with the Blood of his Ancestors. But tho' he was a declar'd Enemy to Monarchy, he cou'd hardly tell how to hate the Monarch, of whom he had receiv'd so many Favours; and it was only the Love of his Country, superior to all Obligations, that made him enter into the Conspiracy. *Cassius*, on the contrary, naturally proud and imperious,

perious, and even a greater Enemy of the Tyrant than of the Tyranny, fought, in *Caesar's* Undoing; nothing more than to be revenged for some Injuries he had receiv'd of him; and he came into the Plot not so much for the Publick Good, as to satisfy his private Passion.

The Conspirators, to give a specious Colour to their Designs, put off the Execution of them to the Ides of *March*; that is, till the Day that *Caesar* was to be proclaim'd King. Some Diviners had foretold him, That that Day would be fatal to him; and the Night before, he perceiv'd that *Calpurnia* his Wife sigh'd and groan'd extremely in her Sleep. She own'd to him in the Morning, that she dream'd she held him in her Arms run through in many Places. She intreated him not to go abroad that Day, and to put off the Assembly of the Senate; or at least, if her Prayers cou'd not prevail, not to refuse her the Satisfaction of consulting the Event by Sacrifice.

Vell. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 59.

*Caesar*, tho' not very superstitious, could not refuse that Complaisance to a virtuous Wife whom he lov'd; the more, because the Augurs bore a great Weight; and there were but very few People, who did not run after those Presages, which were reputed in those Days the Interpreters of Destiny. A great many Sacrifices were offer'd; and as all the Signs were ominous, *Caesar* resolv'd to dismiss the Senate, and gave Orders for it to *Marc Antony*, his dearest Confident, whom he had made Consul for that Year.

*Decimus Brutus*, who had no less a Share in his Trust, tho' one of the Conspirators, fearing that if *Caesar* put off going to the Senate, the Plot might be discover'd, remonstrated to him, That since the Senate was summon'd by his special Order, they would take this Counter-Order for an Affront; That the whole Company was dispos'd

Plat. in  
*Caesar*.



to proclaim him King of all the Provinces out of Italy; and he should not put off the Joy which his Friends conceiv'd at seeing him invest'd with that Glorious Title, which would be a Monument and a Recompense of his many great Victories. And as he was saying several more such flattering Things, he took him by the Hand, and drew him out of his House. It is reported, that by the way he received several Bites, which discover'd the Conspiracy to him; but that the Multitude about him did not permit him to read 'em; but that he gave 'em to his Secretaries, as he used to do the Petitions that were presented to him, when he appear'd abroad.

Scarcely was he come down from his Litter, when all the Conspirators, as to do him Honour, surrounded him. *Antony*, *Cinna*, who was one of them, presented himself, according to what they had agreed, to demand his Brother's Pardon, who was banish'd. Upon *Cæsar's* Refusal, *Cinna*, under Pretence of begging it with greater Submission, laid hold of the Bottom of his Robe, but pull'd it so hard, that he made him bend his Neck. Then *Cæsar* drew his Dagger, and stabb'd him in the Shoulder; but the Wound prov'd but slight. *Cæsar* fell upon him, and threw him down; but as they were scuffling, another of the Conspirators came behind, and stabb'd him in the Side. *Cassius*, at the same Time, wounded him in the Face, and *Brutus* pierc'd his Thigh. He was yet defending himself with much Courage; but the Blood he lost through so many Wounds, having weaken'd him, he went to the Feet of *Pompey's* Statue, where he fell and sigh'd, after having been stabb'd in Thirteen and twenty Places by the Hands of those, whom he thought he had disarm'd by his good Offices.

App. l. 2.  
c. 36.

Plut. in  
Cæsar.

Year of  
Rome,  
709.

The Conspirators, seeing him dead, offer'd at the same Time to give an Account to the Senate of the Motives of their Undertaking, and to exhort them to approve an Action, which had restor'd Liberty to their Country. But no body would hearken to them : Most of the Senators, terrify'd and fill'd with Amazement, run away in great Haste. They retir'd to their Houses, where they lock'd themselves up, without knowing what they had to hope or to fear from so bold an Action, and so tragical an Event.

Plut. ibid.

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*The End of the Thirteenth Book.*

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## BOOK XIV.

After Caesar's Death, Two Parties arise in the Commonwealth. One Side declares for the Conspirators; the other demand, that the Death of the Dictator be punish'd. Mark Antony the Consul declares sometimes for one, sometimes for the other, according as it suits his own private Views. His Scheme of Grandeur cross'd by young Octavius, Grand-Nephew and adopted Son of the Dictator. Octavius procures his Adoption to be confirm'd by the Prator, and declares himself openly Heir of his Great Uncle, whose Name he assumes. By Cicero's Assistance, he brings the Senate over to his Interest. The Triumvirate of Caesar, Antony and Lepidus. Cruel Proscriptions. Caesar makes use of the Forces of Lepidus and Antony, to undo the Conspirators and their Adherents. He afterwards declares against Antony and Lepidus themselves, and at last remains sole Master of the whole Roman Empire.

**B**RUTUS and Cassius, not having had Power to keep the Senate together, went all over the Town, follow'd by their Accomplices, with their Daggers yet bloody in their Hands. To bring the People over to their Party, they proclaim'd in the Streets, that they had kill'd the King of Rome, and the Tyrant of their Country. They were preceded by a Herald, who on a Javelin carried a Hat for a Signal of Liberty; and they

they admonish'd the People to lend 'em a helping Hand in restoring the Commonwealth. Some Senators, that had no Share in the Plot, join'd the Conspirators to do themselves Honour, and publickly bestow'd large Encomiums upon them. But there was no body among the People, who declar'd for them. They were no longer those ancient Romans, who preferr'd Liberty before Life. Most, become effeminate with the Delicacies of Rome, accusom'd to live by the Sale of their Votes, which they gave to the highest Bidder; or by the liberal Presents of the Dictator, bewail'd him as the Father of his Country. The Conspirators, surpriz'd at their melancholy Looks, retir'd to the Capitol; whither, for their Safety, they carried a great Number of Gladiators, Dependants on *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conspirators; and they saw with Regret, that the Death of an Usurper was going to create fresh Calamities in the Commonwealth. And indeed, *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and other more particular Favourites of *Cæsar*, who at first hid themselves for Fear of being involved in his Ruin, appear'd in Publick as soon as they perceived this Disposition in the People: They call'd together their Creatures, and resolv'd to revenge the Death of the Dictator. *Lepidus*, by Order of *Antony*, who was Consul, caused a Body of Troops, which he commanded as General of the Horse, to advance into the very Field of *Mars*. *Antony* on his Part, being then first Consul, and intrusted with the Government, caused *Cæsar's* Money and Papers to be carried to his own House, and summon'd the Senate. Never did that August Body meet on so important and nice an Account. They came there to decide, whether *Cæsar* had been an Usurper, or a lawful Magistrate; and whether those that had kill'd him, deserv'd to be rewarded or punish'd. *Antony*, to prevent many of the most noted in

Vell. Pat.  
l. 2. c. 58.

Tear of  
Rome,  
709.

Idem.  
App. ibid.

App. l. 2.  
c. 39.

the Senate, who held Places and Governments by no other Authority than *Cæsar's* Liberality, from declaring against his Memory, put this Question; Whether, supposing he was declar'd an Usurper, all his Ordinances should likewise be declar'd void? Whether all the Regulations he had made in the Empire should be abolish'd, and the Magistrates of the Commonwealth, and Governors of Provinces, whom he had nominated, be divested of their Dignities?

There were Two Parties in the Senate, who, without declaring themselves openly, carried on Two very contrary Designs with Abundance of Art and Dissimulation. *Antony*, at the Head of *Cæsar's* Creatures and Friends, aim'd at the Sovereign Power himself, and sought it in the Ruin of all the Assassins. The true Republicans, without approving openly what had newly happen'd, had no other View than the restoring the Commonwealth; and most, being either Relations or Friends to the Conspirators, would not have been sorry to obtain some distant Governments for them, less to do them Honour, than to provide for their Safety. But as in this new Confusion the greater Part of the Senators did not see through each other's Designs, they all mistrusted one another, and did not open themselves without Abundance of Caution, not knowing as yet whom they should ever long be obliged either to love or to hate: So that after several different Overtures, they took a Medium to content both Parties. It was agreed, that no body should be persecuted for *Cæsar's* Death; but it was stipulated by the same Decree, that all his Ordinances should stand.

This was, as it were, to declare him at the same Time both Innocent and Guilty; since it was inconsistent for the Senate to confirm what he had done during his Dictatorship, and at the same Time to decree, that his Murderers should not be pro-

prosecuted. *Antony* was very sensible of this Contradiction ; but he durst not oppose this Decree of the Senate, for fear of *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Conspirators, who was Governor of *Gallia Cisalpina*, and Commander of a powerful Army. He thought it proper to conceal his real Sentiments, till he were able to cope with him, or till some favourable Opportunity enabled him to snatch his Government from him, and to entice away his Soldiers, who most of 'em had serv'd under him in *Cæsar's* Armies. These were the Reasons that prevail'd with him to subscribe to the Senate's Decree. The Provinces were distributed at the same Time ; *Brutus* got the Government of the Isle of *Crete*, *Cassius* of *Africa*, *Trebonius* of *Asia*, *Cimber* of *Bythinia* ; and that of *Gallia Cisalpina*, given to him by *Cæsar*, was confirm'd to *Decimus Brutus*. *Antony* even consented to see *Brutus* and *Cassius*. There was a Sort of a Reconciliation made between those Heads of the Two Parties : But no body took this to be sincere. Their Hearts were too much ulcerated to continue in the Terms of Moderation ; and it was not long before *Antony* show'd openly, that he design'd to be reveng'd on all the Conspirators. *Cæsar* had trusted his Will to *Piso*, his Father-in-Law. The Time was now come to open it, and at the same Time to celebrate the Funeral of the Dictator. *Cassius* oppos'd it, and was therein seconded by his Adherents in the Senate, who fear'd that the Sight of those Obsequies would renew the Affections of the People, and cause new Troubles. *Antony* and *Piso*, with that very Design, insisted, that one who had been *Pontifex Maximus* ought not to be depriv'd of the Honours of Sepulture. " Those who boast of having kill'd a Tyrant, " said *Piso*, treat us themselves like Tyrants. " They are very willing, that whatever *Cæsar* " has done in their Behalf should be ratified ; and

Plut. in  
Bruto.

Plut. ibid.

App. l. 2.  
c. 40.

“ at the same Time, in an imperious manner, de-  
mand his last Dispositions be suppress’d. The  
“ Senate, added *Piso*, will regulate what they  
“ think the most fitting to honour the Obsequies  
“ of that Great Man ; but as to his Will, which  
“ he deposited in my Hands, I will not betray his  
“ Trust ; and unless I am depriv’d of Life, I am  
“ resolv’d to read it before the whole People.  
The Affair was debated by both Parties with  
much Warmth. At last *Brutus*, who perhaps did  
not foresee the Consequences of this Step, oblig’d  
those of his Party to give way to the other. It  
was decreed, That *Cæsar’s* Will should be exe-  
cuted, and his Funerals perform’d at the Publick  
Charge.

App. l. 2.  
c. 42.

The Will, being produced, was read in Pre-  
sence of all the People: There it was found, that  
he had adopted *Octavius*, Son to his Sister’s Daugh-  
ter, for his Son and principal Heir ; That in Case  
he died without Heirs Male, he had nominated  
for his next Heir *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Con-  
spirators ; that he had nominated some others of  
*Brutus’s* Accomplices, to take care of *Octavius’s* E-  
ducation, he being yet but Eighteen Years old.  
By the same Will, he left his Gardens to the  
People of *Rome* ; and to every individual Citizen  
the Sum of Seventy five Attick Drachma’s, or  
Three Hundred Sesterces. The People were ex-  
tremely mov’d, when they heard that that Great  
Man, of whom they had receiv’d so many Fa-  
vours during his Life-time, had extended his good  
Will towards them, even beyond his Life, by new  
Liberalities. Sentiments of Grief and Gratitude  
forc’d Tears from the whole Assembly ; and this  
general Affection was converted into an Indig-  
nation against the Conspirators, and chiefly against  
*Decimus Brutus*, who had plunged his Dagger into  
the Bosom of him, who in so honourable a Man-

Plut. in  
Cæsar.

ner

ner had just before appointed him one of his Heirs.

Antony, perceiving this Disposition in the Minds of the People, sent for the Corpse into the Forum, to increase their Resentment at so moving a Sight. He himself pronounced his Funeral Oration. He began it with the Recital of his Victories and Conquests. He next enlarg'd very much upon that uncommon Moderation, which the Dictator had show'd towards his private Enemies, during the whole Course of the Civil War. From this he proceeded to the extraordinary Honours which the Senate had decreed him, as an Evidence and a Recompence of his Virtues. He repeated aloud the Decree, by which he was declar'd Father of his Country, and his Person sacred and inviolable. — As soon as he had spoke this last Sentence, he made a Stop; and turning himself towards the Corpse laid on the *Funeral Pile*, and showing it to the People: "See there, says he, how well we keep our Oaths; how grateful we approve our selves! A perjur'd and ungrateful Crew, continued he, have dar'd to assassinate the Greatest of Men; even that very Man, who after having generously given them their Lives in the Plains of *Pharsalia*, had likewise rais'd them to the highest Dignities in the Commonwealth. And then, as it were, introducing *Cesar* himself speaking and complaining of their Ingratitude: "Wherefore did I preserve the Lives of my Murderers? Shall I not find one Friend among that great Number on whom I heap'd and accumulated my Favours, that will revenge me of the Perfidiousness of those Traytors?" Then raising his Voice, and stretching forth his Hands towards the Capitol, he cry'd out, "Oh *Jupiter*! Here I am, ready to revenge him; I swear it in the most solemn manner: And ye Gods, Protectors of this Empire, I conjure ye to favour me in



"the executing so just a Duty". And still the more to aggravate the Grief and Resentment of the Multitude, he takes *Cesar's* Robe, and holds it up to their View all bloody. At the same Time he shews his Image, which he had for that Purpose caus'd to be made of Wax, and on which the Artift by his Order had express'd the Three and Twenty Wounds, which the Dictator had receiv'd both in his Face and all other Parts of his Body.

At this sad Spectacle, all the People melted into Tears; each celebrated his Praises. Some cried up his uncommon Valour, others his Sweetness and Clemency; all equally abhorr'd the Cruelty of the Assassins: And Rage succeeding to Compassion, a Body of *Plebeians* hasten'd to the several Houses of the Conspirators to set fire to them. But they had provided against it, strengthening themselves with the Assistance of their Friends and Domesticks. That Multitude without any other Arms, besides their Grief and Anger, was easily beaten off. The People not proving the strongest, retreated, making bitter Imprecations mix'd with Threats. The most violent swore aloud, that they wou'd return the next Day with Fire and Sword, to sacrifice them to *Cesar's* Ghost.

App. l. 3.  
c. 2.

The Conspirators, and even the Senate, were equally offended at the artful Speech of *Antony*. The Conspirators complain'd, that the Consul, contrary to the Decree of the Senate and his own Word, by which it had been agreed to bury all that had pass'd in Oblivion, had so pathetically enlarged on the Praises of *Cesar* with no other View, but to excite the Rage of the People, and promote their Ruin. They saw very well, that they cou'd not much depend on his Oaths. The Conspirators, now pretty sure that he wou'd make the most of the Aversion which the People express'd towards them, to bring on their undoing,

left

left *Rome*, where they cou'd no longer abide with Safety. Most of 'em upon different Pretences retired to their Governments. They underhand made themselves sure of the Legions and other Forces, which they found in the Provinces. Several seiz'd on the publick Monies. The Kings and Cities of the *East*, in Alliance with the *Roman* State, promis'd them powerful Succours. Their Party became formidable. *Brutus* *Cassius*, and the other Conspirators, made no ill Use of it. They on the contrary declar'd, That they were ready to live the Remainder of their Days out of their Native Country, and in Banishment, provided that *Cesar's* Creatures, did not invade the publick Liberty.

The Senate, without declaring themselves openly, did however secretly favour their Undertakings, being convinc'd that the Preservation of the Republican Government depended upon the Success of that Party. *Antony* was not ignorant of their being that way inclin'd. He knew how odious he had rendred himself to most of the Senators, by his moving the People's Anger against the Conspirators, under Pretence of making *Cesar's* Panegyrick. He found that he had discover'd himself too soon. As it was in the Senate's Power to cross his Designs, he resolv'd to regain their Favour, or at least to blind them for a while, by softening in some other Speeches what he had said amiss in his Funeral Oration. He remonstrated in the Senate, that the Death of that Great Man ought more to be ascrib'd to some of the Gods, jealous of, and averse to the Prosperity of the Commonwealth, than to any of the Citizens. That all their Attention henceforth should be how to reunite the People's Minds, divided on this fatal Accident, and to prevent the Calamities of a Civil War. At the same Time, as a Seal of Peace, he propos'd to recal *Sextus Pompeius*, Son of *Pompey*  
the

App. l. 3.  
c. 1.

they Great, who, since his Father's Death, had staid in Spain; to make good to him at the Publick Charge all his Estates that had been confiscated, and which *Cæsar* had divided among his own Creatures. He added, that it was his Opinion, he ought to have the supreme Command of all the Naval Forces of the State, in the same manner as his Father had before him.

The most resolute Commonwealthsman durst not have propos'd such a Thing in the present Circumstances. The Senate was equally surpris'd and overjoy'd at it. Some attributed this Change in *Antony* to his Fear of the Conspirators; others suspected, that he did not care to draw the Hatred of the Senate upon himself, by setting up for the Avenger of *Cæsar's* Death, whilst young *Octavius*, the Dictator's Heir, was preparing to reap all the Advantages of it. All the Senators, however, extoll'd him upon it; and bestow'd Praises so much the sincerer, as they found in the Restoration of young *Pompey*, the Condemnation, as it were, of *Cæsar's* Memory.

*Antony*, to persuade them entirely of the Sincerity of his Intentions, and of his Disposition towards maintaining Peace, caus'd one *Amatius* publicly to be kill'd in *Rome*, for calling himself a Son of old *Marius*; and by favour of that Great Name, and by virtue of a Kindred with *Cæsar*, publicly demanding that his Death should be revenged. He had put himself at the Head of a considerable Party of the most seditious *Plebeians*. Those Mutineers had erected an Altar to *Cæsar's* Memory, on the very Spot where his Body had been burn'd; and they required the Magistrates and the prime Men of *Rome* to sacrifice thereon. *Antony*, without observing any judicial Form, caus'd their Chief to be stabb'd. Several of his Accomplices perish'd in this Tumult, and a great Number of Slaves, who had embrac'd that Party, were

were immediately hang'd by *Antony's* Orders. Tho' the Senate no ways approv'd those violent App. l. 3. Proceedings, as being contrary to the Laws, they <sup>c. 1.</sup> however thought themselves obliged to dissemble on an Occasion, when such a Procedure of a Consul and a Friend to *Cæsar*, seem'd tending to the greater Safety of the Conspirators. The People, on the contrary, were extreamly provok'd at it. They openly reproach'd *Antony* with Ungratefulness towards the Memory of his Benefactor, and his Inconstancy in changing Sides. *Antony* fail'd not to make himself a Merit with the Senate of this Aversion and Resentment of the People. He even pretended to be much afraid, lest *Amatius's* Followers should attempt his Life; and, as if he was not safe, he required Guards of the Senate to arm himself against the People's Resentment. The Senate allow'd him to be accompanied with some veteran Soldiers. But *Antony* having brought the Senate to what he intended, chose for his Guards none but valiant old Officers, who had served under him in *Cæsar's* Armies, and who all passionately long'd to revenge the Death of their General. *Antony*, under several Pretences, got a App. ibid. Body of near Six Thousand of them constantly to attend him. To some he gave the Title of Centurions, and to others the Quality of Tribunes. They had Orders to make themselves sure, underhand, of the veteran Soldiers, in case there might be occasion to compleat their Cohorts. By this means he found himself in a Condition to set on Foot a large Body of Forces in a very short Time, if his Interest required him to take up Arms.

The Senate was frighten'd to see the Consul walk the Streets of *Rome* always attended with that prodigious Number of arm'd Officers. His very Friends remonstrated to him, how much so extraordinary a Guard made him suspected and odious

odious in a free State. *Antony* answer'd them that he had desir'd them for no other End than to keep the seditious in Awe, and would disband them as soon as every Thing in the City should be restor'd to its former Tranquility. And to remove the Suspicion they might entertain, as if he design'd to succeed *Cæsar* in the Dictatorship, he afterwards propos'd to publish a Law, that should for ever abrogate a Dignity, which was become odious by the Extensiveness of its Power: And his Advice was accordingly pass'd into a Law by the Votes of the People. This Step, and his Promise of forthwith dismissing his Guards, did seemingly free the Senate of their Fears; who perhaps did not think themselves strong enough to make him clear up their Doubts more, or to apply a Remedy to them.

And indeed *Antony* was advancing insensibly towards the Sovereign Power, notwithstanding those Protestations. The whole Authority of the Government was in his sole Hands: He was already Consul. One of his Brothers, *Lucius Antonius*, was Tribune of the People, and his other, *C. Antonius*, was Prætor: He afterwards procur'd for him, as his Lieutenant, the Command of an Army in *Macedonia*, compos'd of Six Legions, all old Soldiers, and who had follow'd *Cæsar* in all his Wars. So many Dignities united in one single Family, made *Antony* Master of the Commonwealth; so that without having taken upon him the Title either of King or Dictator, it may be said, that he reign'd in *Rome* with an absolute Authority, when he saw young *Octavius*, *Cæsar's* Grand Nephew, arrive there, to take Possession of his Inheritance.

Vol. I. 2.  
c. 59.

He was Son of a Senator call'd *Caius Octavius*, who had been Prætor, and of *Accia*, Daughter of *Julia*, *Cæsar's* Sister, who was married to *Accius Balbus*. Young *Octavius* not having yet attained the Age of Eighteen, *Cæsar* had sent him to *Apollonia*,

*pollonia*, a City on the Coast of *Epirus*, to finish his Studies, and make himself perfect in his Exercises. He had not been Six Months there, when he heard, that his Grand Uncle had been assassinated by the Great Men of *Rome*, and even by those whom he had loaded with his Bounties.

This News afflicted him most sensibly. At first he knew not whether the whole Senate had been in the Secret, or whether the Dictator fell only by the Conspiracy of a few private Enemies. He knew as little what share the People bore in so tragical an Event; and the Letters he received a few Days after from his Mother, and *Marcus Philippus*, his Father-in-Law, increas'd his Grief and Uneasiness greatly. *Accia*, and *Philippus*, her Second Husband, wrote him word how *Cæsar* had been murdered in full Senate by his best Friends; that more than Sixty Senators had been in that Plot; that even those that had no share in it, did however secretly favour the Conspirators, whom they held for the Restorers of Publick Liberty; that this Party was very powerful; that *Antony*, *Lepidus*, and other Friends of his Uncle, under Pretence of revenging his Death, aim'd at nothing else but to establish their own Power; that the City was fill'd with Troubles and Commotions, occasion'd by the Opposition and Animosity of the different Parties; consequently that whilst Things stood thus, it behov'd him much not to declare his Pretensions, nor his Resentment; and there could be no Safety for him, but in an obscure and private Life. Some of his Friends went even so far as to advise him to renounce *Cæsar's* Adoption, for fear the Conspirators should involve him in his Uncle's Fate. Others, as fearful, apprehending every Moment to see Soldiers come to kill him, were of Opinion, that he should seek for Shelter in the Army of *Macedonia*, the Soldiers where-

whereof were one and all passionate Lovers of *Caesar's* Memory.

*Octavius* at first View discover'd the Weakness and mean-spiritedness of these Counsels, though varnish'd over with the specious Pretence of Prudence; and he answer'd them only with a generous Scorn, taking it very ill that they should think him capable of following them. *Caesar's* Death had afflicted, but not dispirited him: He resolv'd to revenge it, and to maintain the Honour of his Adoption at the very Peril of his Life; and he show'd in so nice an Affair, and in so early a Youth, an innate Courage and Greatness of Soul. All the Historians of his Time agree, that he possess'd an exalted Mind, always true and judicious in his Designs, capable of the greatest Undertakings, and of managing 'em with the utmost Skill and Industry.

Vell. Pa-  
terc. l. 2.  
c. 59.

The first Thing he resolv'd upon, was to cross over into *Italy* without Delay, to learn himself how People were dispos'd. As he had but few to attend him, he would not land at *Brundisium*, the usual Port for all those that came from the *East*, lest the Garison, corrupted by some of the Conspirators, might have secret Orders to secure him.

App. l. 3.  
c. 3.

He went on Shore near a little Town call'd *Lupia*, at a small Distance from *Brundisium*, whither he immediately sent some dextrous Persons to enquire if he might venture safely into the Town. The Officers and Soldiers in Garison there, understanding that the Nephew of their late General durst not come near them for fear of some Ambush, went out in a great Body to meet him; and after having given him their Faith, introduc'd him into the Town, of which they made him the Master. *Octavius* thank'd them for their Faithfulness and Attachment to the Memory of his Uncle. He sacrific'd to the Gods, and in a solemn manner took upon him the Name of *Caesar*, according

to the Privilege of his Adoption. It is by that Name we shall for the future call this Man, who made it no less famous than his Predecessor, tho' by Virtues of a different kind.

Young *Cæsar*, after an Action of so much Splendor, march'd boldly on to *Rome*, without any other Guard than his own Servants, and a few Friends:

But he was supported by the Great Name of *Cæsar*, which alone soon got him Legions and whole Armies to dispose of how he pleas'd. At

the Report of his March, the most considerable among his Father's Friends, his Relations, his Freedmen, and even his Slaves came and join'd him. The veteran Soldiers, whom *Cæsar*, after

the Civil Wars, had given Lands to in *Italy*, ha-  
stend from all Parts to offer their Services to his adopted Son. Money was brought him from all

Sides; and when he came near to *Rome*, most of the Magistrates, the Officers of the Army, and the People, throng'd out at the Gates to meet him.

It was taken Notice of, that of all the Friends and Creatures of the Dictator, *Antony* alone neg-  
lected to pay that Duty to his Son, and did not

App. ibid.

vouchsafe so much as to send the least of his Ser-  
vants to compliment him in his Name. Young

*Cæsar* would not seem to take it ill, that he might not be oblig'd to fall out with him on so trifling  
an Account, having Affairs of much greater Mo-  
ment to transact with him. And when his Friends

did not forbear publicly to condemn the Pride and Ungratefulness of *Antony*, *Cæsar*, with a seem-  
ing good Temper, excus'd him on Account of his

greater Age, and the Prerogatives of the Consular  
Dignity. He added, that being the youngest, he  
would make the first Advances, and wait on him

the next Morning. But that before he went to  
make that Visit, he desir'd all his Friends to come  
early, with as many People as they could any

ways



ways get together into the *Forum*, to assist at a Ceremony and a solemn Act, in which the Presence of his Kindred and Friends would be no less necessary than honourable to him.

This Ceremony was recording *Cæsar's* Adoption, which, according to the Custom amongst the *Romans*, he was obliged to get authoriz'd by the *Prætor*. Without this Formality it was not lawful for him to assume his Name, nor take Possession of his Estate. So bold a Step frightened equally his Mother and his Father-in-Law. They remonstrated to him, that declaring himself *Cæsar's* Heir, he took upon him to prosecute all his Murderers; which would draw the Hatred of the Senate upon him, who by a Decree had ordain'd, that all Things relating thereto should be buried in Oblivion; that the Conspirators, strong on Account of the great Number of their Adherents, the Governments where they had the supreme Command, and the Legions that obey'd them, would all turn their Arms against him, as against the Promoter of Tyranny; that even *Antony*, who had now requir'd himself Master of the Administration, would not be pleas'd to see him at the Head of a Party which should have any other Master but himself; and, that tho' a Creature of *Cæsar's*, it seem'd as if the Death of that Great Man had wiped off all his Obligations to him; and that his Son would perhaps find him as much averse to his Fortune as his Assassins, or the worst of his Enemies.

*Cæsar* answer'd them, that when he had taken that Name upon him at *Brundisium*, he had foreseen all the Consequences and all the Obligations it brought him under; and that what he saw in *Rome*, far from inducing him to repent the doing of it, only contributed to confirm him in the Resolution which he had taken; that the Pardon which the Conspirators had obtain'd from the Senate, had been granted for no other Reason, but  
because

because nobody had the Courage to oppose it ; but that he did not despair of getting it revers'd, when the Senate shou'd see him at the Head of his Kindred, of the Friends and Ancient Officers of *Cæsar*; back'd by the Authority of the Laws, and supported by the Love of the People. That the very Gods would declare for the Justice of his Cause; and *Antony* would perhaps be ashamed at last, that he had not come into it before. That at all adventures he had rather die, than give up an Adoption that was so glorious to him ; and it shou'd never be said of him, that he thought himself unworthy of that Name which *Cæsar* had thought he merited. *Accia*, seeing him animated with so Noble a Courage; and such high Sentiments, embrac'd him tenderly ; and drowning his Face with Tears, which Joy and Fear did confusedly force from her, *May the Gods, my Son, said she, conduct you, where your high Destiny calls you. And Heaven grant; I may soon see you victorious over all your Enemies.* After this, *Cæsar* went to the Forum. He presented himself, attended by a vast Multitude of his Friends, before *Caius Antonius*, Prætor for that Year, and the Consul's Brother. He declar'd to him in a solemn Manner, that he accepted *Cæsar's* Adoption : And after having caus'd his Declaration to be registred, he went to *Pompey's* Gardens, where *Antony* resided, and which he had appropriated to himself upon that Great Man's Death.

*Antony* having learn'd that young *Cæsar* was at his Door, let him wait there some Time, to make him know by that affected Disregard, how much he was above him by his Office, and what Degree of Authority he design'd to maintain over him : He was a little Time afterwards introduc'd into his Apartment. Their first Meeting was cold, though attended with that Politeness and Civility; which is usual among People of so great Distin-

Id. App  
Ibid.

tion. *Caesar* spoke first: He began with returning  
 Thanks to *Antony* for his Attachment to the Me-  
 mory of his Father, and for his Panegyrick made  
 at his Funeral. Next he complain'd bitterly, that,  
 being Consul, he had consented to the general Par-  
 don which the Senate had granted to the Conspi-  
 App. l. 2. rators. "Is it possible, said he with much  
 "Warmth and Liveliness, that *Caesar's* Friend,  
 "that he, who actually holds the Dignity of Con-  
 "sul from that Great Man, has not only suffer'd  
 "his Murderers to escape, but has consented that  
 "Governments shou'd be decreed them, and has  
 "since in a peaceable manner convers'd with  
 "those Assassins? Cou'd I have expected this of  
 "my Father's Lieutenant, of him, who shared  
 "his Power and the Command of his Armies, and  
 "whom he rais'd to the chief Dignities of the  
 "Commonwealth? Take it not amiss, that I  
 "conjure you by his Memory to alter your Con-  
 "duct: Show your self to the Senate, the People,  
 "and all *Rome*, the Avenger of my Father's  
 "Death: Join your self to me, join your self to  
 "*Caesar's* Relations, and so many Officers and Sol-  
 "diers, who daily call for the Punishment of  
 "those Assassins. Let us unite our Resentment,  
 "as we do our Grief; and if we do not think our  
 "selves strong enough, let us call the People to  
 "our Assistance. You know it was none of their  
 "Fault, that we were not reveng'd before now.  
 "But if the Fear of the Senate hinders you from  
 "concurring in so just a Design, at least do not  
 "oppose me in it. And though I shou'd be alone  
 "at the Head of the Party, and have yet neither  
 "Legions nor other Forces, every Thing is pos-  
 "sible to a Son, who undertakes to revenge the  
 "Death of his Father: I only desire, as his chief  
 "Heir, that you will deliver up to me all his  
 "Money, which you caus'd to be carried to your  
 "own House. I willingly leave you all his other  
 inva-

“ invaluable Treasures in Gold and Silver Plate,  
“ or in Jewels of all Sorts; but I have Occasion  
“ for the ready Money, to pay off the Legacies  
“ which he left to the People; and to begin to  
“ pay Three Hundred Thousand Men, who are  
“ mention’d in his Will. And whereas what you  
“ cou’d let me have at present of ready Money  
“ will not be sufficient, I shall be much oblig’d to  
“ you, if you will either lend me some of your  
“ own, or procure me some at Interest from the  
“ Quæstors or Receivers of the publick Monies,  
“ that I may pay off what shall remain due to  
“ the People and Veteran Soldiers; ’till I am able  
“ to raise Money, by the Sale of the whole Estate  
“ that my Father left me, to discharge those ne-  
“ cessary Duties.

The Boldness and Undauntedness of this Speech alarm’d *Antony*. He was surpriz’d to find such vast Designs in so young a Man, and one that was yet but in a private Condition. Instead of answering his Complaints and Demands, he at first pleaded the Authority which the Consulate gave him. He wrapp’d himself up, as it were, in his Dignity; and made use of it as a Barrier, to prevent *Cæsar*’s showing him in too near a View, what was just and true. But perceiving he had to do with a Man educated in *Cæsar*’s Bosom, and accusom’d to look on most Consuls, as on his Uncle’s Creatures; he at last answer’d him, That he was very much mistaken, if he fancied that *Cæsar*, by leaving him to inherit his Name and his Estate, had thereby left him the same Claim and Right to the Empire: That his Death, which had been as the Punishment and Revenge of the Authority which he had usurp’d, ought to have taught his adopted Son, That the Constitution of the Commonwealth allow’d neither of Hereditary nor even of Elective Sovereigns; therefore that a *Roman* Consul ow’d him no Account of his Conduct.

That on his Part, he acquitted him of all the Obligations which he pretended to owe him; since in all that he had done, he had no other View, but the Welfare of the State, and to maintain Peace among his Fellow-Citizens. " Yet it is I alone, continued *Antony*, that having establish'd *Cæsar's* Memory, by causing him to be honourably interred at the publick Charge, have acquir'd you his Name, the Right of his Family, his Inheritance and Estate. All this you had lost, if *Cæsar* after his Death had been treated like an Usurper: For his Will had not then been confirm'd. There wou'd have been neither Will, Adoption, nor Inheritance. No body would ever have dar'd to have brought his Corpse into the *Forum*: But I chose rather to expose myself to the Indignation of the Senate, and the Fury of the Conspirators, than suffer that Great Man to be depriv'd of the Honours of Sepulture. If I have made some Concessions to the Conspirators, I thought my self oblig'd to it from Considerations becoming my Age and Dignity; Considerations, which a young Man, as you are, is incapable of discerning. As to the Sums of Money which you demand, can you be ignorant, that that very Money belong'd to the Commonwealth, from which your Father had taken it? It has been shared among the Magistrates since his Death, and they are to lay it out on the several Occasions of the State. But suppose it shou'd be restor'd to you, I would never advise you to consume it in Largeesses and Gratifications, as imprudent as they are useless. You know, that the People is a Monster, who takes on all Sides, that is never to be satisfied, and who never repaid the good Offices of our Citizens, but with the basest Ingratitude. And as for you, Young Gentleman, continued he, who have read the History of the *Grecian* Com-

“ monwealths, have not you observ’d therein, that  
 “ all the People’s Favourites are short-liv’d; and  
 “ that it is building on a Bog, to lay the Founda-  
 “ tion of one’s Fortune on the transient Favour of  
 “ a vile Populace?

Through the Disguize of these Counsels young *Cæsar* easily saw, that *Antony* retain’d his Father’s Money from him for no other End, than to disable him from buying the Love of the People. The Empire, as it were, was expos’d to Sale, the Multitude and even the Legions prostituted their Votes and Services to the, highest Bidder. Young *Cæsar* highly offended at a Refusal, of which he rightly foresaw all the Consequences, went out of *Antony*’s House pierc’d with Grief, loudly invoking *Cæsar*’s Name, and calling him, as it were, to his Aid against the Injustice and Ingratitude of the Consul. But as the grand Affair was to be before-hand with him in gaining the Love of the People, to supply the Room of that Money which was refus’d him, he expos’d to Sale all the Houses and Lands that belonged to the Dictator; and publicly declared, That he had not accepted of his Inheritance, but in order to prevent the Consul from depriving so many Families among the People of the Sums left them by the Will of his Uncle and Father.

*Antony*, on the other Hand, to stop all the Springs, whence young *Cæsar* might draw Money, obtain’d a Decree from the Senate, That an Enquiry should be made into the publick Moneys and Revenues. This Decree retrospected the Administration of the Dictator, whose Inheritance *Antony* was resolv’d to ruin, thereby to put his Heir out of a Condition of gaining the People by his Liberalities: And he at the same Time put a stop to the Sales, which he intended of his principal Estates in Land. Some private Citizens claim’d them before the Consul, as the Estates of their Ancestors, App. l. 3. c. 5.

which *Cæsar*, as they said, had appropriated to himself during the Civil Wars. Some Officers of the Revenue interpos'd at the same Time to reclaim a Part of those Lands, as being confiscated for the Use of the Publick, having belong'd to attainted Persons. These important Debates were all carried before *Antony*, or some inferior Magistrates, who depended upon him. It was in vain, that young *Cæsar* shew'd by the Deeds of Conveyance, that his Father had bought those Lands with his own Moneys; and that, 'supposing it to be otherways, that famous Decree pass'd by the Senate after his Death, ratified every Thing done under *Cæsar's* Dictatorship; and that they ought either to repeal it whole in all its Parts, or equally maintain all the Acts done by the Authority of his Father, and during his Dictatorship.

*Antony*, who only endeavour'd to embroil this Affair in a Maze of Law-Suits, maintain'd on the contrary, That Time ought to be granted to such Citizens, as had been depriv'd by superior Force, to bring in their Proofs; and as to the Senate's Decree, it appear'd, that it was only design'd to maintain those Magistrates in their Offices, who had been preferr'd to them by the Dictator, to prevent the State's falling into an Anarchy: But he doubted, whether that Decree extended as far as the Estates, which *Cæsar* had appropriated to himself: That an Affair of that Consequence very well deserv'd the Senate shou'd explain its Intentions therein by a new Decree. After all, he cou'd not believe, that a Body of Men, so remarkable for their Equity, shou'd have pretended to authorize Usurpations; tolerated only in those unhappy Times, and which hereafter wou'd be put to no other Use, than to support the Pride and Luxury of a young Man.

*Cæsar,*

*Cæsar*, not ignorant that his Enemies by all these Stratagems only design'd to evade the Execution of his Father's Will, did instantly put up his own Patrimony to Sale, besides the Estates of his Mother and Father-in-Law, who willingly parted with them to contribute to his Greatness. Young *Cæsar* paid Part of the Legacies mention'd in the Will out of the Produce of those Sales. The People charmed with his Generosity, cried out, he deserv'd to bear the Name of *Cæsar*; and as they hoped more Favours from him, they declar'd one and all for him against *Antony*. The Consul, on his Side, that he might be able to cope with that Party, pretended to have secret Notice brought him, that the *Geta* had made Incurfions App. l. 3. into *Macedonia*. Under that specious Pretence, he c. 5. desired of the Senate, they wou'd grant him the Government of that Province, and the Command of the Army on that Frontier.

Though the Senate knew perfectly well, that those *Barbarians* had made no Inroads into the Dominions of the Commonwealth; yet they granted the Government of *Macedonia* to *Antony*, to enable him to balance the Power and Credit of young *Cæsar*, who became suspected and formidable by the Sums of Money he lavish'd on all Hands. The Senate, to maintain their own Liberty, used all their Industry to keep the Power of the Grantees in a Balance; and that Body of Men, formerly so absolute, was now reduc'd to trust the Forces of the State, and the Command of the Armies, to such as often turn'd them against their own Country: So that it may be said, that *Rome* in those Days had scarce any Thing at Command, but the Choice of her Tyrants.

*Antony*, having obtain'd that Government, sent *Caius Antonius*, one of his Brothers, thither, to draw thence as many Forces as he cou'd, and bring them over into *Italy*. His Design was to make



himself Master of *Gallia Cisalpina*, as the Dictator had done, in order to extend his Authority from thence to *Rome*, and, if possible, to drive young *Cæsar* thence. His Hatred and Jealousy against that Son of the Dictator did openly break out at the Games, which *Crotonius* gave the People during his *Ædileship*. The Senate, as we have seen, had, during the Dictator's Life, ordain'd by a Decree, That at all the publick Shows, a gilded Chair and a Crown of Gold shou'd for ever be placed there, to make the Memory of that Great Man immortal. Young *Cæsar* fail'd not to send the Chair and Crown thither. But *Crotonius*, probably gain'd over by his Enemies, wou'd not admit it, under Pretence that it was not just another shou'd carry away the Honour of those Games, of which he bore the whole Expençe. The Affair was carried before the Consul. *Antony*, who desir'd no better than to mortify young *Cæsar*, answer'd coldly, That he wou'd refer it to the Senate. And I, answer'd *Cæsar* haughtily, *will go and place the Chair of my Father where it ought to stand, whilst you are consulting the Conscrip̄t Fathers.*

Plut. in  
Ant.  
App. l. 3.  
c. 6.

*Antony*, who was naturally of a proud Temper, provok'd at the Audaciousness and Firmness of that young Man, reply'd, that he forbad him, not only to place it at the Games of *Crotonius*, but even at those which were to be shew'd at his own Expençe: And Passion carrying him beyond his Bounds, he threaten'd to send him to Prison, if he continued to seduce and corrupt the People by his Prodigalities. *Cæsar*, of a more subtil and moderate Temper than the Consul, wisely conceal'd his private Resentment. But he knew how to make sufficient Advantage of *Antony's* Threats: And that he might turn against him the Resentment of the People and Soldiery, he us'd to address his Speech to him in the *Forum*, as if he had been present there himself. After having related all the Obsta-  
cles

cles he had form'd to evade the Execution of *Cæsar's* Will, and the opprobrious manner in which the Consul had treated him; "Wherefore, said *App. l. 3.*  
 "he, dost thou oppose the Honours to be paid to *c. 6.*  
 "a Great Man, from whom thou derivest thy  
 "own Dignity and Riches? Suffer at least, O  
 "*Antony*, that his Son may discharge those Le-  
 "gacies, which by his Will he has left to his  
 "Fellow-Citizens: I leave you to enjoy all the  
 "rest: I shall be too rich yet, if I can but in-  
 "herit his Glory, and that Love which the Peo-  
 "ple bore him." Such Discourses, repeated art-  
 fully on different Occasions, rais'd the Populace  
 against the Consul. Every one detested his In-  
 gratitude; and his own Guards, who had all serv'd  
 under *Cæsar*, threaten'd to abandon him, if he con-  
 tinued to persecute the Son of their General.

However great *Antony's* Passion against young  
*Cæsar* was, he saw it behov'd him to dissemble.  
 He answer'd those Officers, that he was incapable  
 of proving ungrateful to the Memory of his Be-  
 nefactor, that he even preserv'd a tender Friend-  
 ship for his Son; But that that young Man, proud  
 of the Name of *Cæsar*, offering to put himself  
 on a Level with a Consul, he thought himself  
 bound to make him sensible of the Subordination  
 there was betwixt a private Citizen, and the chief  
 Magistrate of the Commonwealth. But that he  
 was ready to readmit him again into his Friend-  
 ship, provided he would for the future know him-  
 self a little better, and behave himself towards  
 him with that Respect and Complaisance, which  
 his Dignity and Age entitl'd him to. This Ex-  
 planation was follow'd by an Interview, which *Plut. in*  
 the Officers brought about. *Antony* and *Cæsar* *Anton.*  
 embrac'd, and promis'd to assist each other with *App. l. 3.*  
 the Credit of their Creatures, and go Hand in *c. 6.*  
 Hand in the Execution of their Designs. *Anto-*  
*ny*, who had his Ends to serve, requested of him  
 the

the Help of his Friends, to procure him the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina*, in Lieu of that of *Macedonia*. That Government of Gaul had been given by the Dictator to *Decimus Brutus*, one of the chief Conspirators : And the Senate had confirm'd it since *Cæsar's* Death. *Antony*, who knew the Importance of that Government in respect to all *Italy*, remonstrated to young *Cæsar*, That since he was generously dispos'd to revenge the Death of his Father, he ought not to suffer, that one of his Assassins shou'd in a manner enjoy the Fruit of his Crime at the very Gates of *Rome*. *Cæsar* approv'd of his Design, and promis'd to back him with all his Credit with the People. *Antony* forthwith propos'd the Affair to the Senate ; but he met with great Opposition from the Majority of the Senate, who saw with Grief, that *Antony*, by turning one of the Conspirators out of his Government, broke in upon the *Senatus Consultum*, and the General Pardon, by which they had secur'd the Lives and Fortunes of all that had a Hand in the Dictator's Death. There were even some in that Body, who observing that *Antony* was going the same way, which the Dictator had taken, to attain the Sovereign Power, propos'd rather to make that Province a Free State, than to trust the Government of it to a Man, who was ambitious, a Great Commander, and who would use it no otherways than as a Place of Arms, and the Seat of his Empire. Several of that Body advis'd *Decimus* to fortify himself there betimes, and sent him Succours underhand. So that *Antony's* Proposal having been rejected almost unanimously, he address'd himself to the People, whose Tribunes he had brib'd.

It is easy to see, from what we have said, that the Senate was against undoing the Conspirators, whose Party they took to be the same with that of Liberty. But the People, always short in their  
Fore-

Foresight, and brib'd by *Cæsar's* Gifts, went head-long with him into all his Designs. They granted the Government to *Antony*, in hopes to see a speedy Vengeance taken of the Dictator's Assassins, without considering that their Death would be immediately follow'd with the Loss of their own Liberty. They decreed *Gallia Cisalpina* to *Antony*, who, by virtue of a *Plebiscitum*, and against the Will of the Senate, sent thither a strong Body of Forces to drive *Decimus Brutus* out of it. The Enemies of the Senate and the Conspirators triumph'd on Account of the Reconcilement of *Cæsar* and *Antony*. But it was very hard for Two such Men to continue long united, when their Interests were so widely opposite. *Antony*, thinking himself now Master of *Italy*, regarded young *Cæsar* less; and the Death of a Tribune of the People, whose Place *Cæsar* design'd to fill with *Flaminius*, one of his Creatures, soon show'd, that all this seeming Friendship was only as it were a Ground for betraying each other afresh. *Antony* fearing that should *Cæsar* have a Tribune entirely dependant on him, he would make use of him to propose Things to the People wholly for his own Advantage, made use of all his Credit and Authority to postpone that Election, and hinder any Assembly from meeting so soon. At the same Time he made a Decree, as Consul, forbidding *Cæsar*, under severe Penalties, from making any new Gifts to the People contrary to Law. This was a Sort of Declaration of War against him. Their Hatred and Aversion were kindled anew. *Antony* never mention'd *Cæsar*, but with the Epithets of a young hair-brain'd Fellow, whom, he said, it was necessary he shou'd compel to his Duty; whilst *Cæsar*, deeply silent, was laying the Foundations of his Enemy's Ruin. He began with stirring up the Resentment of the People against him, not a little

little incens'd at his last mention'd Decree against his bestowing Largeſſes ; and ſent at the ſame Time Emiſſaries to all the Colonies, which his Father had ſettled in *Italy* ; and even into *Antony's* Army, who diſpers'd Maniſeſto's againſt his Management, and who underhand made ſure of a great Number of Officers and Veteran Soldiers. Thoſe who were at *Rome*, and compos'd *Antony's* Guards, remonſtrated to him, that he was undoing himſelf and them, by his criminal Diviſions with young *Caſar*, and that the Dictator's Aſſaſſins only would profit by it. " You are not ignorant (ſaid the " Tribunes and principal Officers to him) that " the ſame Parties which formerly divided the " Commonwealth betwixt *Caſar* and *Pompey*, have " yet a Being. The one always makes uſe of the " plauſible Pretence of defending Publick Liber- " ty, and the other aims at revenging the Dicta- " tor's Death. We have choſen you to command " over us, as his beſt Friend, and in hopes that " his Lieutenant and firſt Commander of his Par- " ty would make uſe of his own and our Cou- " rage, to obtain a full Revenge of thoſe Vil- " lains who have aſſaſſinated him. Theſe are " the Motives of our Truſt and of our Engage- " ments. Your Safety and ours both depend up- " on the undoing of the Conſpirators. If their " Party prevails in the Government, we muſt " all expect to be proſcrib'd as the Accomplices " of *Caſar*, and the Miniſters of an Uſurper ; and " tho' under his Command we ſpilt our Blood to " extend the Bounds of this Empire, *Caſar's* Sol- " diers will be found guilty, if his Enemies get " the better of them. Nothing can uphold our " Party, but your Union with young *Caſar*. Af- " fiſt him, help us to deſtroy the Party oppoſite " to ours ; Let it not be ſaid, that *Caſar's* beſt " Friend croſſes his Son, in his generous Deſign of " revenging his Father's Death.

*Antony*

*Antony* was not less desirous of destroying the App. l. 3. Conspirators than his Officers, but he could not c. 6. brook that it should be owing to *Cæsar*; and he fear'd, that under Pretence of revenging his Father's Death, he would seize on the Sovereign Power by the Ruin of the Republican Party: This was the secret Ground of their Differences. *Antony* would gladly have lent young *Cæsar* his Troops and his Credit to destroy his Father's Murderers, if he would have acknowledg'd him for his Successor in the Administration of the Republick. However, as it behov'd him much to retain with him that Crowd of Officers who had follow'd his Fortune since the Dictator's Death, he answer'd those who came with that Errand from them, That he was glad he had an Opportunity of giving them an Account of his Conduct, and to lay his very Soul open to them. He added, that he promis'd himself, that after they had heard him, they would find he had wanted neither Courage to defend the Memory of their General, nor Prudence or Skill to improve any Opportunity of revenging his Death.

" I shall not (says he) remind you of the Tumult, Commotion and Disturbance which *Rome* was in immediately after the Dictator had been assassinated in the Middle of the Senate. The general Cry was, that the Commonwealth was restor'd, and the Senate seem'd even dispos'd to decree a Reward to the Murderers, as to the Authors of Liberty. If this had been effected, *Cæsar's* Memory had been attainted like that of a Tyrant, and we should all have been involv'd in the same Sentence. I was thorowly sensible what would be the Consequence of such a Reward, and I alone stood it out against all the Conspirators, their Kindred, and their Friends; and if I may venture to speak so boldly, against the whole Senate it self. But as their Adhe-

" rents

" rents did no less foresee, that if *Cæsar* was not  
 " declar'd an Usurper, the Conspirators ought to  
 " be punish'd, and that each Party was obstinate  
 " in defending their own Opinion ; it was at last  
 " agreed for the Safety of both Sides, instead of  
 " a Rêward, to grant them a general Pardon. By  
 " this means I secur'd *Cæsar's* Memory ; I pre-  
 " served the Glory of his Name entire ; I sav'd  
 " his Estate and Goods from being forfeited ; and  
 " prevented that Adoption from being cancell'd,  
 " which now makes young *Cæsar* so daring. He  
 " enjoys the Fruits of my Cares ; and if to get  
 " his Father's Will confirm'd, I have consented  
 " to a Pardon in Favour of the Conspirators, that  
 " does not argue that my Design was to secure  
 " their Lives. I only repriev'd them ; it was  
 " not my Fault, if they were not all tore to  
 " Pieces on the very Day of *Cæsar's* Obsequies :  
 " I call to witness those who saw it, in what  
 " manner, under Pretence of deploring *Cæsar's*  
 " Fate, I rais'd the Fury of the People against  
 " his Murderers, and put them under a Necessi-  
 " ty of stealing out of *Rome*. I no sooner heard  
 " that they were raising Forces, but that I might  
 " not be taken unprovided, I got the Govern-  
 " ment of *Macedonia* decreed to me, which has  
 " made me Master of Six Legions which were in  
 " that Province. I intend to make use of them  
 " for yours and my Safety ; and it is to render us  
 " still securer, that I have besides obtain'd of the  
 " People, notwithstanding the Opposition of the  
 " Senate, the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina*,  
 " whence, by your Assistance, I hope to drive  
 " *Decimus Brutus*. Such has hitherto been my  
 " Conduct ; and I am very unwilling to hide any  
 " of my most secret Designs from my Friends,  
 " and those Gentlemen who are to share the Glo-  
 " ry of them, as well as the Performance. I  
 " even consent, that you communicate this to all  
 " that

“ that are in the same Interest. I only except  
“ against *Cæsar*, whose Pride and Ingratitude I have  
“ already too much experienc’d.

This Speech of *Antony*, wherein it seem’d as if he had wholly unbosom’d himself, satisfy’d his Officers in some manner. Yet they requir’d of him, that he should be reconcil’d with young *Cæsar* again. He was forc’d to consent to an Interview, wherein, after mutual Complaints, Excuses and Embraces, they parted just as sincere Friends as they were before.

*Cæsar* was very willing that *Antony*, as his Father’s Lieutenant and Creature, should help him to revenge his Death ; but he would not put him at the Head of a Party, which, after the Defeat of the Conspirators, would be Master of the Republick : And *Antony*, at the Bottom, very indifferent about this Revenge, pretended to be in earnest, with no other View than to make himself a Merit of it with the Soldiery. The Sovereign Power was the only Mark he aim’d at ; whatever could obstruct that secret View, was equally odious to him ; and he hated *Cæsar* no less than *Brutus* or *Cassius*, tho’ he was forc’d to keep more Measures with the first, because of the Love which the People and those Officers and Soldiers bore him, that had serv’d under his Father.

It was to make him lose that Affection, in which consisted his main Strength, that he caus’d several of his own Guards to be put under Arrest, pretending they had suffer’d themselves to be corrupted by young *Cæsar* to make away with him. An Accusation of that Moment made a great Impression on the Minds of the People, and their open Enmity made it the more probable. Every body was of Opinion, that it was a horrid Crime to attempt the Life of a Consul. Besides, the very Adherents and Friends of young *Cæsar* thought they had Occasion for a Commander of *Antony*’s

4 Abili-



App. l. 3.  
c. 9.

Abilities, to oppose *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and the other Chiefs of the Conspirators. *Cæsar*, enrag'd at those Reports spread against his Honour and Reputation, hastens into the City, shows himself in all the Streets, calls the People together, and remonstrates to them, that so black a Calumny had been invented only with Design to ruin him in their Opinions; and to make him lose their Goodwill. He calls the Gods to witness his Innocence, and loudly demands to be brought to his Trial. From thence he goes to *Antony's* own House, defying him to produce those that were accused, the Informers, and the Witnesses. But as Entrance was deny'd him, he made a Thousand Imprecations against *Antony*, whom he call'd a Cheat and an Impostor. *I require no other Judges* (said he) *but your own Friends*, if they can find but the least Glimpse of Truth in the Charge against me, wherewith thou attempt'st to blacken my Name.

The People, according to Custom, judg'd of the Ground of this Accusation by what they saw outwardly. He that spoke with most Boldness and Vehemence, seem'd guiltless to them. Some did even not scruple to say openly, that this Accusation was no more than a new Stratagem of *Antony*, to have a Pretence of increasing his Guards. Some suspected both the Accuser and the Accus'd of a secret Intelligence. They said, they had made this Rout with no other View, than that they might take up Arms without alarming those who might have fear'd they design'd jointly to turn them against the Publick Liberty.

But their ensuing Conduct show'd sufficiently, that each only sought the other's Destruction, and aspir'd to remain alone at the Head of that Party which was opposite to that of the Conspirators. They rais'd Forces both at the same Time. *Antony*

Antony order'd the Four Legions which he had drawn from *Macedonia*, to march towards *Rome*, with which he design'd to make himself Master of *Gallia Cisalpina*. He flatter'd himself, that *Lepidus*, who was in *Spain*, at the Head of Four Legions, *Plancus*, who commanded Three more in *Gallia Transalpina*, and *Asinius Pollio*, who had Two at his Command, all Three ancient Lieutenants of the Dictator, would declare for him. Young *Cæsar*, fearing to be surpris'd and crush'd by his Enemy, rais'd on his Part Ten Thousand Men in *Campania*, and got Two of *Antony's* Legions, that of *Mars*, and the Fourth, to come over to his Side. But as he was invested neither with a Military Title, nor any Magistracy, which gave him Right to head an Army, especially against a Consul, he endeavour'd to get the Senate on his Side. He succeeded therein by *Cicero's* Credit, who always oppos'd *Antony's* Pretensions and Party. *Cicero* was his Enemy for no other Reason, than that he believ'd him an Enemy of the Commonwealth. It is what he mentions himself, in that vehement Speech which he made against him in the Senate: That great Orator, that intrepid Defender of the Liberty of his Country, seeing *Antony* ready to invade *Gallia Cisalpina*, persuad'd the Senate to send young *Cæsar's* Troops against him. The ablest of that Body, who most of them were related to some of the Conspirators, approv'd a Council which would sow Division in the contrary Party; and they despair'd not of advancing the Ruin of the Chiefs by their mutual Hatred.

Young *Cæsar* was not ignorant of their Design; He was well appriz'd of the secret Correspondence the Senate kept up with the Conspirators: But as in the present Circumstances, *Antony* seem'd to him the most formidable Adversary, he resolv'd to dissemble with the Senate, to suspend his Hatred against his Father's Assassins, and endeavour

to rid himself of *Antony*, before he turn'd his Arms against them. It was from this Motive, and to dazzle the Senate's Eyes, of whom he would continue to feign himself the Minister, that he refus'd the Title of *Proprator*, which his Soldiers were for conferring on him. And when his most intimate Friends, and those whom he consulted chiefly in the most secret and important Affairs, remonstrated to him, that his Army would scruple to obey a Citizen without any Dignity or Magistracy : " The Senate (said he to them in " private) has just now declar'd for me ; but this " Declaration proceeds not so much from Friend- " ship to me, as their Fear of *Antony*. They " seem sure of my Submission, and it is my Inte- " rest to give them no Cause to mistrust me. I " refuse the Title of *Proprator*, which the Army " offers me, only to engage the Senate to confer " it on me.

And indeed, the Senate was impos'd on by that outward Modesty. They thought it became their Interest to amuse him likewise, and flatter'd themselves they should blind him with Honours and Marks of Distinction, which carried more Show than Power with them. By a Publick Decree, they conferr'd that very Title on him which he had lately refus'd ; and to bind him faster to their Interest, they order'd a Statue of Gold to be erected for him in the *Forum*. By the same Decree they gave him a Place in the Senate, and Leave to put up for Consul Ten Years sooner than the Laws permitted. But thro' the Disguise of these signal Favours, it was not difficult for *Cæsar* to perceive, that the Senate was only intent upon diverting him from minding his Father's Death, or disabling him to revenge it. *Antony*, on his Part, by virtue of a Decree of the People, but against the Will of the Senate, had, as we have

seen

seen above, caused the Government of *Gallia Cisalpina* to be conferr'd on him, tho' *Decimus Brutus*, one of the Heads of the Conspiracy, had been invested with it by the Dictator, and confirm'd in the Possession of it by the Senate, after the Dictator's Death. *Antony*, after having seiz'd most of the Towns of that Province, now actually held *Decimus* besieg'd in *Modena*. The Senate, provok'd at an Undertaking against their Orders, sent to acquaint him with a Decree, by which he was commanded to raise that Siege; to depart forthwith from *Gallia Cisalpina*; to march his Army back again over the *Rubicon*, a River that parted that Province from the rest of *Italy*; and on the Banks of that River to wait for the Senate's farther Commands. All this he was order'd, under the Penalty of being declar'd an Enemy to his Country. It was *Cicero*, *Antony's* Enemy, who had form'd that Decree. He could not have made the Senate speak more haughtily, nor with more Dignity, if the Strength of the Commonwealth had been proportionate to her Majestick Stile. But *Antony*, seeing himself at the Head of a great Body of Forces at the Gates of *Rome*, laugh'd at the Decree. He answer'd proudly, that since they would deprive him of a Government which he had obtain'd from the Good-will of the People, he should find Means to render that Pardon useless, to which he had consented out of bare Complaisance to the Senate; and that he hop'd in a little while to sacrifice *Decimus Brutus* to the Manes of Great *Caesar*.

His Answer was taken for a Declaration of *Year 9* War. The Senate, incens'd at his Rebellion, order'd *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, who were newly chosen *Rome* <sup>710</sup> Consuls, and young *Caesar*, to join their Forces, and march to the Relief of *Decimus*. *Pansa* was at the Head of Four Legions, but made up en-  
C c 2 tirely

tirely of new Levies ; and *Hirtius*, by a secret Order of the Senate, who were resolv'd to weaken *Caesar's* Army, requir'd him to return the Legion of *Mars*, and the Fourth, which had quitted *Antony's* Party.

*Caesar*, to give Proof of his Deference for the Consul, surrender'd those Troops to him instantly. Tho' those Two Legions were come over to him from a Principle of Attachment to the Memory of his Father, he made as if he did not see thro' the Senate's Views ; and having Occasion for its Assistance and Authority to get rid of *Antony*, he thought that to know how to lose upon a proper Occasion, was no Loss, but rather Gain. He afterwards join'd the Remainder of his Forces to those of the Consul ; and the Son of the Dictator was seen to follow the Ensigns of his Enemies to the Relief of one of his Father's Assassins.

*Antony* likewise advanc'd at the Head of his Forces. They soon came to a Battel : The Fight was long and obstinate ; nothing but the Night put an End to it. The Loss was pretty equal on both Sides, if we except that of the Consul *Pansa*, who in the Heat of the Action was mortally wounded. *Antony* march'd his Army back into his Lines. *Hirtius* and *Caesar* undertook a few Days after to force them ; and as they were of great Extent, *Hirtius* found out a Place weaker guarded than the rest, which he carried Sword in Hand. He fell next upon the Camp. *Antony* set Two Legions against him, which, after a long Resistance, were cut to pieces ; and the Consul would have defeated the whole Army, if he had not been kill'd whilst he was fighting with too much Ardour at the Head of his Legions. His Fall slacken'd their Courage, and *Caesar*, who by the Death of one Consul, and the Wound of the other, was left Chief Commander of the whole Army, contented himself with preserving the Advantage

van'tage: he had gain'd. His Design was to starve *Antony*, or force him to another Battel. *Antony*, weaken'd by these Losses; and fearing the Event of a Third Battel, rais'd the Siege. As he was not in a Condition to keep the Field before a victorious Army, and superior to his own in Strength, he march'd towards the Mountains, whence he took the Road to *Gallia Transalpina*, in hopes to get *Lepidus* to declare for him, and also *Plancus* and *Afinius Pollio*, who in those large Provinces commanded several Bodies of Men.

The Senate, overjoy'd at *Antony's* Defeat, whom they now conceiv'd to be utterly undone, sent Orders to their Generals to oppose his Passage; and took but little Notice of *Cesar*, from whom they thought henceforth they should have nothing to fear. Without any Regard to his Dignity of *Proprator*, the Command of the Army was taken from him; and given to *Decimus Brutus*, with Orders to give *Antony* no Time to breathe, but to pursue him forthwith, and treat him like a publick Enemy. This Conduct shew'd *Cesar* what he was to expect from most of the Senators; and *Pansa*, before he died, discover'd to him the true and secret Spring of all their Designs. That Consul, being at the Point of Death, sent for young *Cesar* to him; and when he was come to his Bed-side, spoke to him in this manner. " I always  
" lov'd your Father more than my self. Tho'  
" some prudential Reasons, to which even you  
" have submitted, your self, have retain'd me in  
" the Party of the Senate; I never laid aside  
" the Desire nor the Hopes of revenging his  
" Death. My own, just at Hand, deprives me  
" of that Comfort; but before I expire, I will at  
" least acquit my self towards the Son of what I  
" was indebted to the Father. Know then, that  
" you are not less hated nor suspected by the Se-  
" nate than even *Antony* your Adversary. They

“ hate you both equally : Nothing has pleas’d  
 “ them more than to see you fall out, and they  
 “ flatter themselves to make you both the Instru-  
 “ ments of each other’s Ruin. If they declar’d  
 “ for you, it was only because they thought you  
 “ the weakest, and the Man they could the soon-  
 “ est overcome. My Design, far different from  
 “ that of the Senate, was to compel *Antony* by  
 “ Force of Arms to be reconcil’d with you ; to  
 “ join our Armies, and, in Conjunction, pursue  
 “ the Murderers of our common Benefactor. It is  
 “ the only Thing left for you to do. Agree with  
 “ *Antony* ; you’ll find him more pliable since his  
 “ Defeat. I return you your Two Legions, and  
 “ I would as gladly surrender up to you the rest  
 “ of my Army ; but they do not entirely de-  
 “ pend upon me. The Officers are most of them  
 “ the Spies of the Senate, that have secret Or-  
 “ ders, to observe our Conduct.” The Consul  
 died presently after this. *Cæsar* put himself at  
 the Head of his Forces, to which he join’d the  
*Martial* and the Fourth Legion. *Torquatus*, by the  
 Senate’s Command, deliver’d the rest of the Army  
 up to *Decimus Brutus*, who immediately march’d  
 in Pursuit of *Antony*, to draw him to a Battel ;  
 and he despair’d not of overtaking him, before he  
 had reach’d the *Alps*.

The Senate had made Choice of *Decimus* for no  
 other Reason, than to have an Army entirely  
 dependant upon its Orders. *Cæsar* resented that  
 Preference highly. He saw with Grief, that the  
 Senate, by putting one of the Conspirators at the  
 Head of the Commonwealth’s Forces, seem’d to  
 justify his Crime. This Affront inclin’d him to  
 a Reconciliation with *Antony*, according to *Pan-  
 sa*’s Advice : But as his own Interest was the sole  
 Rule of his Conduct, and that he aspir’d no less  
 to make himself the Heir of the Dictator’s Pow-  
 er, than of his Name and Estate, he apprehended,

that

that in joining with *Antony*, that General would pretend to be acknowledg'd the Head of the Party; and would make use of those very Forces that had so lately defeated him, to make himself Master of the Government.

*Cæsar*, in this Uncertainty; resolv'd to keep in equally with the Senate and *Antony*, and to delay declaring himself till he was sure which Party *Lepidus* and *Plancus* would take; and then he would chuse which Enemy to attack the first. That he might give a Guess at the Disposition of these different Parties, his Friends at *Rome* demanded in his Name, that he might be chosen Consul in the room of *Hirtius* and *Pansa*, deceas'd; and at the same Time he sent a great Number of Officers back to *Antony*, that had been taken Prisoners in the last Battle.

*Decius*, the oldest of those Officers, and *Antony's* intimate Friend, after having thank'd him for his Liberty, ask'd him how he was inclin'd towards his General? *Cæsar* did not think fit at first to lay himself quite open, and answer'd him only, that *Antony* might easily judge of it by his Conduct. This was to oblige that General to make the first Overtures. But understanding that the Senate, far from decreeing him the Consulate, were only meditating how they should reduce him to a private Life, he saw clearly, that his Interest requir'd he should unite himself with *Antony*. He began to communicate his Mind to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, all old Officers of the Dictator, and with whom he had always maintain'd a secret Correspondence. He wrote to them, that the Senate, all made up of *Pompey's* Adherents, oppos'd his Rise, only because he was *Cæsar's* Son; that themselves ought not to expect a more favourable Treatment; that they studied only how to divide them, in order to crush them afterwards more easily one after another. That this Con-



duct ought to shew them what should be theirs, and that he intreated them to unite finally with him to maintain the Party of their late General. By the way, he added some Complaints against *Antony*; but in so artful a manner, that it was easily seen he was not averse to a Reconciliation. He gave a new Proof thereof, by letting *Ventidius*, a Lieutenant of *Antony*, escape, when he might easily have defeated him. That Officer having rais'd Three Legions, was endeavouring to join his General's Army. *Cesar* overtook and surpriz'd him with superior Forces. He had surely been defeated, if *Cesar* would have fallen on; but he contented himself with showing him, that his Destiny was in his Power. He gave him the Choice either to embrace his Party, or to continue his March; and *Ventidius* having told him he was not capable of relinquishing *Antony's* Interest, *Cesar* giving him Leave to retreat, order'd him to tell him in his Name, that he acted directly contrary to their common Interest.

App. l. 3.  
c. 18.

App. ibid.

All this while, *Antony*, press'd by *Decimus Brutus*, who commanded the Army of the Commonwealth, endeavour'd to gain the Alps. He met in his Passage *Culeo*, a Lieutenant of *Lepidus*, who guarded the Passes; He must have perish'd with his whole Army in those Mountains, if *Culeo* had been faithful to his General. But he suffer'd himself to be brib'd by *Antony*, who with a good Sum open'd himself a Passage, and continued his March. *Decimus* having drove him out of Italy, wrote to the Senate, that he had dispers'd his Army; that *Antony* himself was hiding and sculking somewhere among the Alps, and he hoped that he would soon fall into his Hands. The Senate heard this with an uncommon Joy. The Senators of *Pompey's* Party cried out, that the Commonwealth had at last recover'd its Liberty; and as if *Antony* had been actually taken, the Senate named

nated Ten Commissioners to try him. The least Thing that was talk'd of, was to repeal all the Laws he had made since *Cæsar's* Death; and they even by degrees aim'd at including in this Repeal all the Ordinances of the Dictator, to re-settle the Commonwealth on its ancient Foundation.

*Antony* the while, after having pass'd the *Alps*, was enter'd into *Gaul*. He immediately wrote to *Lepidus*, *Plancus*, and *Asinius Pollio*, to remind them of their ancient Friendship, and desire them to join with him against the Conspirators, and the other Enemies of *Cæsar's* Memory. *Lepidus*, who had got the Government of *Spain*, was still in *Gaul*. He was equally surprized and puzzled at *Antony's* Arrival. He was a Man more regarded for the Merit of his Ancestors, than his own Worth; of a narrow Mind; ambitious without Courage; enterprizing, and yet timorous at the same Time. He communicated the Reason of his Uneasiness to *Juventius Laterensis*, his particular Friend, to whom he shew'd *Antony's* Letters. *Juventius*, who was a zealous Republican, omitted nothing to dissuade him from joining *Antony*; but in order to conceal his Attachment for the Senate, he artfully stir'd up his Ambition. He remonstrated, that having Seven Legions at his Disposal, he was look'd on as the most powerful General of the Commonwealth; and that he would always rule, which Side soever he chose. But that, if he join'd *Antony*, he could not avoid submitting to the Authority of a haughty and violent Consul, who would scarce leave him the Rank of one of his Lieutenants in his own Army. The Jealousy about Command determin'd *Lepidus* to reject *Antony's* Proposals, though they were, both Friends and Creatures of the Dictator. He sent him word, that since the Senate had declar'd him an Enemy to his Country, he could not join his

Forces to his, without drawing on himself a Decree of the same Nature : But he assur'd him at the same Time, that whatever Orders he receiv'd from *Rome*, he would carefully avoid coming to any Engagement. *Asinius Pollio* on the contrary more steady, and ever faithful to the Dictator's Party, sent *Antony* word, he should always find him dispos'd to join with him to revenge the Death of their General. *Plancus*, ever doubtful and wavering, kept at the same Time a secret Intelligence with both Parties. He flatter'd *Antony* and *Decimus Brutus* by Turns, that he would join them ; but he always defer'd declaring himself, till he saw how Things went.

*Antony*, on his Part, saw his Ruin unavoidable, if the Senate's Authority should prevail with these unsettled Minds, and move them to act in Harmony with *Decimus Brutus* against him. During this Uneasiness, which show'd him all the Danger without any way to escape from it, he took a Resolution worthy of his Magnanimity, but which was perhaps also caus'd by the Extremity to which he saw himself reduc'd. He march'd straight up to *Lepidus's* Army ; he mark'd out his Camp just near his, but without fortifying it, as if they had been of the same Party and Interest. He sent immediately to him ; bad him consider, that the Senate aim'd only at destroying all *Caesar's* Generals one after another, by obliging them to turn their Arms against each other : And, putting him in mind of their former Friendship, he conjur'd him by *Caesar's* Memory, to contribute his Share in revenging the Death of that Great Man.

*Velleius*,  
L. 2. c. 63. The Affair was taken into Consideration, and a Treaty set on foot ; but whilst some Officers were going backwards and forwards, *Lepidus's* Soldiers, who slighted him as much as they valued *Antony*, being besides brib'd by those of that  
Confu-

Consul, receiv'd him by Night into their Camp, and own'd him for their General. Some even offer'd to kill *Lepidus*, if he would command them to do it. *Juventius Laterensis*, who had so much dissuaded him from uniting with *Antony*, seeing his Friend abandon'd and betray'd by his Soldiers, kill'd himself with his own Sword. Some Historians insinuate, that *Lepidus* threw himself at *Antony's* Feet, begging he would spare his Life. *Antony* did not misuse his good Fortune; he treated the unhappy *Lepidus* with a great deal of Humanity: He even left him the Title and outward Marks of Generalship, tho' he alone perform'd all the Functions of it. *Asinius Pollio* came about the same Time to offer him his Two Legions. *Manatius Plancus*, always govern'd by Events, did then openly declare against the Senate and *Decimus Brutus*: And *Ventidius*, whom young *Caesar* had graciously suffer'd to make his way to *Gaul*, join'd *Antony* there with Three more Legions: So that that General, who a little before was driven out of *Italy* by young *Caesar* and *Brutus*, now found himself in a Condition to return thither at the Head of Seventeen Legions.

App. l. 3.

Plut. in Antony.

So surprizing a Change in *Antony's* Fortune, threw the Senate from an Excess of Confidence into the utmost Despondency. Upon the News *Decimus* sent them, that he had drove *Antony* into the Mountains, where, he said, he could not avoid perishing either for Want, or by the Arms of *Lepidus*; most Senators had believ'd that Party entirely ruin'd; and they thought to compel young *Caesar*, whom they no less suspected, to disband his Legions, under Pretence that the Republick had no farther Occasion for them, the War being ended. *Caesar*, to ward this Blow, which would have left him naked and defenceless, resolv'd to put up for Consul, with a View, that

App. l. 3.  
C. 18.  
D. H. l. 46.

that if he obtain'd that Dignity, he shou'd have a Privilege to keep his Forces on Foot, and to command those of the Commonwealth; and that if the Senate should oppose him, such a Refusal would furnish him with a Pretence of remaining arm'd, to revenge himself of those that should have declared against him. It is said, that from that very Time he took Measures to be reconciled with *Antony*; but that he might not truckle to his Authority, he put up for the Consulate, that by means of this Dignity he might be the Head of the Party which he shou'd espouse. And as *Cicero* then bore a great Sway in the Senate, he intreated him by some common Friends to use his Interest, that they might both be chosen Consuls at the same Time. To persuade him to do it, he remonstrated, that he only desir'd the Title of that Dignity, of which he would leave him the whole Power; and that he wish'd to be his Colleague only to be his Disciple, and learn the Art of Government under so great a Master.

*Cicero*, misled by these Praises, of which he was very greedy, and relishing the Pleasure of governing *Caesar*, declar'd in his Favour. He remonstrated to the Senate with his usual Eloquence, That he knew no surer way to prevent *Caesar's* Reconciliation with *Antony*, than to create him Consul: That as such, he could not avoid maintaining the Senate's Decrees against *Antony*; but as he was yet very young, he admonish'd the Conscript Fathers to appoint him such a Colleague, as by his Age and Prudence might be capable to have an Eye on his Conduct, and be a Sort of a Governor to him in the Management of Affairs. Several Senators, Friends or Kindred of the Conspirators, and who fear'd that young *Caesar*, when arriv'd to the Consulate, would use his Authority to revenge the Death of the Dictator, rejected *Cicero's* Proposal with much Warmth. Some even laugh'd openly

openly at his Vanity, and the indirect manner in which he appointed himself to be chosen young *Caesar's* Colleague. This Affair was warmly debated in the Senate. *Caesar*, to strengthen his Party, caus'd his Army to advance near *Rome*. The Report of his March had a greater Effect than all the Eloquence of the Roman Orator. The Senators, frighten'd at his Approach, not only chose him Consul, but as he thought he had now no farther Occasion for *Cicero's* Credit, he caus'd *Quintus Pedius*, one of his Relations, and a Legatee of the Dictator, to be chose Second Consul to his Exclusion.

The first Step he made after he had taken Possession of the Consuláté, was to get his Adoption confirm'd in a General Assembly of the Roman People. This being determin'd, he caus'd those to be impeach'd by some of his Adherents, who had a hand in *Caesar's* Murder. Himself presided at the Tryal: And he condemn'd all the Conspirators to lose their Lives for not appearing. But as *Brutus* and *Cassius* their Chiefs, were at the Head of more than Twenty Legions, he rightly judg'd it would not be easy for him to destroy so powerful a Party, as long as *Antony* should continue to oppose him. Therefore he resolv'd to be reconcil'd to him, under the specious Colour of joining their Forces to revenge his Father's Death. To make the Disposition of his Mind towards him known, he got *Quintus Pedius*, his Colleague and Creature, to insinuate to the Senate, That it was for the Advantage of the Commonwealth to recal *Antony*, and not to drive to the utmost Extremity a Great Commander, who was no less to be dread'd than *Sylla* and *Marius* had been. The Nearness of his Army, encamp'd at the Gates of *Rome*, gave his Counsels the Weight of so many Laws: And though most Senators clearly saw, that he only design'd to strengthen himself with the Help

App. L. 3.  
c. 21.

of *Antony* against the Defenders of the Publick Liberty, they were no longer in a Condition to act conformably to their good Intentions. They were forc'd to yield to a Power, which follow'd no other Rule for its Conduct, than that of its private Interest. The Senate solemnly repeal'd all the Decrees enacted against *Antony* and his Adherents; and *Caesar* offer'd him to join their Forces, and march against *Brutus* and *Cassius*.

App. L. 3.  
c. 22.  
Vell. Pat.  
L. 2. c. 64.

*Antony* return'd over the *Alps* into *Italy* with his Seventeen Legions. *Decimus*, not finding himself in a Condition to oppose him, meditated a Retreat into *Macedonia*, where *Brutus* was. The greatest Part of his Army deserted him: Four Legions submitted to *Antony*, and others join'd *Caesar's* Army. *Decimus*, seeing so general a Desertion, endeavour'd to save himself in the Mountains near *Aquileia*; but he was seized in the Defiles of those Mountains, and his Head was cut off by *Antony's* Command. Thus perish'd *Decimus Brutus*, the Confident and Favourite of *Julius Caesar*. He had been General of his Horse. The Dictator had got him chosen Consul for the ensuing Year, and Governor of *Gallia Cisalpina*. The Civil War broke out, as we have seen, on account of that very Government, which *Antony* disputed with him, under Pretence, that he ought not to retain an Employment, which he had received merely from the Bounty of a Man, whom he had stabb'd himself for a Tyrant, and the Usurper of the Government.

*Caesar*, who wish'd nothing more than to be reconcil'd with *Antony*, sent to thank him for having put *Decimus* to Death, as a Victim to his Father's Ghost. This was the Motive or the Pretence of their Reconciliation. They were both equally inclin'd to it. *Antony* had lately experienc'd before *Modena*, what the Name of the Commonwealth was yet capable of doing: And as he began

to despair of making himself sole Master of the Sovereign Power, he resolv'd to share it with young *Cesar*. *Cesar* on his part fear'd, that if he deferr'd any longer to unite with *Antony*, that Party-Chief would at last join with the Conspirators, as he had actually sent to threaten him he would do, and that their united Forces would re-establish the Republican Government. So that Peace was easily struck up betwixt Two Enemies, who found an equal Advantage in becoming Friends. Some of their common Friends made them consent to an Interview : The Conference was App. L. 4.  
held in a little desert Island, which the River *Panaro* C. 1.  
forms near *Modena*. Both Armies encamp'd upon its Banks ; Bridges of Communication had been made from thence into the Island, upon which they had posted Guards. *Lepidus* was present at this Interview ; and tho' he had nothing left but the Name and outward Appearances of a General, *Antony* and *Cesar*, who were always upon the Watch against each other, were not sorry that a Third, which they had nothing to fear from, should interpose in the Disputes which might arise betwixt them. *Lepidus* therefore enter'd the first into the Island, to view whether it was safe for them both to venture into it. Such was the unfortunate Condition of those ambitious Men, who even in the midst of a Reconciliation could not help mistrusting each other. *Lepidus* having made the Signal that had been agreed on, the Two Generals enter'd the Island each from the opposite Shore. They first embrac'd, and without entring into any Disquisition about Things pass'd, they advanc'd towards the Place of Conference, which was on the highest Ground, and whence they cou'd equally be seen by their Guards, and even by both Armies. They Three sat down with no body else near them. *Cesar*, as Consul, took the most honourable Post, and sat betwixt the other Two. They

Year of  
Rome,  
710.



They then debated, what Form of Government they should settle in the Commonwealth, and by what Title they should share the Sovereign Power, and retain their Armies to support their Authority. The Conference lasted Three Days; The Particulars of what pass'd there are not known: Only by what follow'd it appear'd, that they had agreed, that *Cæsar* should abdicate the Consulate, and for the rest of that Year invest *Ventidius*, one of *Antony's* Lieutenants, therewith. But that *Lepidus*, *Cæsar*, and *Antony*, by the Title of *Triumviri*, should possess the Sovereign Power for Five Years. They limited the Time of their Authority to that small Number of Years, to avoid declaring themselves too openly at first the Tyrants of their Country.

These *Triumviri* did next divide the Provinces betwixt them, and also the Legions and Treasures of the Commonwealth. And they went about this Division of the whole Empire, says *Plutarch*, as if it had been an inherited Estate, or their Patrimony.

*Antony* retain'd the *Gauls* for himself, except only that Province which joins the *Pyrenean Mountains*, which together with both *Spains* was yielded to *Lepidus*. *Cæsar* got for his Share *Africa*, *Sicily*, *Sardinia*, and other Islands of the *Mediterranean*. *Asia* being in Possession of the Conspirators, was not shared at this Time: But the *Triumvirs* agreed, that *Cæsar* and *Antony* should forthwith join their Forces to drive them thence; that each of them should head Twenty Legions; and that *Lepidus* with Three others shou'd stay in *Italy* and *Rome*, to maintain their Authority there. His Two Colleagues allotted him no Share in the War they were going to undertake, because they entertained no great Opinion either of his Abilities or Courage. It appears, that *Cæsar* and *Antony* had taken him in for a Partner in the *Triumvirate* with the sole View of leaving with him, during their Absence,

Absence, the Supreme Authority as it were in Trust; because they were well assur'd, that they could at any Time easier rid themselves of him than of another General, if ever he broke his Faith with them, or became useless.

The Ambition of the *Triumvirs* was satisfied by this Partition. But as they had Occasion for immense Sums to carry on the War, and that they left besides in *Rome* and in the Senate a great Number of conceal'd Enemies, and some Commonwealthsmen yet zealous for Liberty; they resolv'd, before their Departure from *Italy*, to sacrifice to their own Safety, and proscribe, the richest and most powerful Citizens. They drew up a List of them. Each *Triumvir* set down his private Enemies, and even the Enemies of his Creatures. They carried on their cruel Temper so far, as each to give up their own Relations, and even some of their nearest Kindred. *Lepidus* sacrific'd his Brother *Paulus* to his Colleagues: *Antony*, on his Part, abandon'd *Lucius Caesar*, his Mother's own Brother, to *Caesar's* Resentment: And the last suffer'd *Antony* to make away with *Cicero*, tho' that Great Man had supported him with his Credit against this very *Antony*. In short, in this fatal List were seen *Thoranius*, Governor of young *Caesar*, the very Man who had taken such a particular Care of his Education. *Plotius*, Consul Elect, and Brother of *Plancus*, one of *Antony's* Lieutenants, and *Quintus* his Colleague in the Consulate, had the same Fate; tho' this latter was Father-in-Law to *Asinius Pollio*, a warm Stickler for the *Triumvirate*. The most Sacred Rights of Nature were violated; Three Hundred Senators, and more than Two Thousand Knights, were involv'd in this horrible Proscription. By this profitable Revenge the *Triumvirate* grew rich, and lessen'd the Number and Power of the Republick.

Vell. Pac.  
l. 2. c. 66,  
67.

App. l. 4.  
c. 1.  
D. H. Nic.  
l. 47.

cans. *Rome* was no more, or at least *Liberty* was banish'd thence ; and the Commonwealth had a Being no where, but in the Camp of *Brutus* and *Cassius*. *Cæsar* and *Antony*, according to their concerted Plan, cross'd over into *Macedonia* to go in Search of them. The Forces were pretty equal in both Parties ; and if *Cæsar* and *Antony's* Legions were more compleat, *Brutus* and *Cassius* on the other Hand were stronger in Cavalry. They had Twenty Thousand Horse in their Army, when the *Triumvirs* could hardly muster Thirteen Thousand in theirs.

These Two Armies were encamp'd near the Town of *Philippi*, situate upon the Borders of *Macedonia* and *Thrace*. There were at first various Skirmishes, wherein the Troops of the Conspirators had always the Advantage. At last came on the Day, which was to decide the Fortune and Destiny of the Commonwealth. These great Bodies mov'd and march'd against each other with equal Fury.

I shall not enter into the Particulars of a Battel, which has been related by many Historians ; because it is foreign to my Subject. This Battel decided the Fate of the Commonwealth. *Liberty* was buried in the Fields of *Philippi*, together with *Brutus*, *Cassius*, and the Chiefs of the Conspirators, and the last of the *Romans*. *Brutus* indeed defeated that Body where *Cæsar* was : But *Antony* got the better of *Cassius*. That General, fancying his Colleague had met with the same ill Success, oblig'd one of his Freedmen to kill him ; and *Brutus*, having hazarded the Fate of Arms a second Time, lost the Battel and kill'd himself, that he might not fall alive into the Hands of his Enemies. The *Triumvirs*, by this Victory, settled their Empire on the Ruins of the Commonwealth. Such great Successes were owing  
not

*Year of  
Rome,  
711.*

*Plut. in  
Anton.*

not so much to *Cæsar's* Valour, as to his Cunning and Management; having found the way to make use of *Antony's* Sword, whilst for his Share, to carry on the Common Cause, he contributed nothing but Schemes, whose secret Springs he even conceal'd from both his Colleagues. He was not asham'd, on the Eve before the Battel, under Pretence of I know not what Indisposition, to leave the Body he commanded; and deserting his own Army, he hid himself among the Baggage, whilst the Two Armies were engaged. Perhaps he flatter'd himself, that the Danger of the Battel and *Antony's* Courage would free him from an ambitious Colleague, and that, without exposing his Person, he should alone reap the Fruits of the Victory. But don't we honour his Understanding too much in this Conjecture, when all this might easily proceed from his natural Fearfulness of Temper? What may incline us to believe, that on this Occasion he was only actuated by a lively and strong Impression of Fear, is that every body knows what Railleries he afterwards was forc'd to bear from *Antony*, who reproach'd him, that in a Sea-Fight against young *Pompey*, he never had the Courage to see the Engagement betwixt the Two Fleets; but that, laid down in his Ship, with his Eyes lift up to Heaven like a Man in a Trance, he never show'd himself to his Soldiers, till News was brought him that his Enemies were fled.

What a prodigious and incoherent Mixture of opposite Qualities in the same Man! and especially in a Man, that aspir'd to render himself Master of the whole World! In him we see an exalted, bold, audacious Genius, capable of forming the greatest Projects, yet incapable of facing coolly the least Danger, and that show'd no Courage but

in Council, and where there was no need of venturing his Person in the Execution.

He was very soon sensible, that this Quality, most necessary in a General, was wanting in him: Yet tho' he was conscious of this Weakness in himself, it abated nothing of his Ambition. He contented himself with calling another Man's Valour to his Aid. He borrow'd, as it were, *Agrippa's* Courage: He made him General of his Forces. But always intent on the principal Object of his Undertaking, he chose for so important and nice an Employment, a mere Soldier of Fortune, and consequently one incapable of creating any Jealousy, or making himself Head of a Party. Of all the Republicans, there remain'd only young *Pompey*, who had seiz'd on the Island of *Sicily*, whence he very much infested the Coasts of *Italy*. The Business was to force him out of a Retreat, which serv'd besides for an *Asylum* to Abundance of Persons proscrit'd, who might perhaps revive the Cause of Liberty: But *Augustus* had no Shipping. *Mæcenat*, his first Minister, his Favourite, and the ablest Manager of a Treaty in those Days, cunningly obtain'd Ships from *Antony*, altho' it was so much that *Triumvir's* Interest to maintain young *Pompey* in that Island, to serve him as a Kind of Barrier against the Ambition of *Augustus*, which he had always so much Reason to dread. *Agrippa*, on the other Hand, equips a Fleet; goes in Quest of the Enemy, beats *Pompey's* Lieutenants, defeats him in several Engagements, and at last drives him quite out of the Island. But being as modest, or rather as subtil a Courtier as he was a Great General, he refuses the Honours of the Triumph, which the *Romans* used to decree to Victorious Commanders: Convinc'd, said he, as *Dion* relates, that a good General ought to neglect

neglect nothing to bring his Prince's Designs to a good Issue ; but that, when he met with Success, he ought to refer all the Glory to him, as his Master and the principal Author of the Undertaking. *Augustus*, now victorious over the whole Republican Party, thought it Time to fall out with his Colleagues. He was resolv'd to reign alone ; and, in order to it, to rid himself of his Two Colleagues or Coheirs, whom Fortune had forc'd him to associate in this Inheritance of his Uncle's Power.

He attack'd them one after another. *Lepidus's* Ruin he purchas'd at the Expence of a few Intrigues. That *Triumvir*, little belov'd of his Soldiers, saw himself abandon'd by them in his very Camp. *Augustus* became Master of it by his Cunning and secret Negotiations, in which he outdid all Mankind : Under various Pretences, he divested his Colleague of the Sovereign Power. That *Triumvir* was afterwards seen reduc'd to lead a private Life, and so unfortunate, that he became an Object of Compassion even to his greatest Enemies. *Antony*, ador'd by his Soldiers, Master of the best Part of *Asia* and all *Egypt*, and who had mighty Kings in his Party and for his Allies, gave *Augustus* more Trouble. But his Ruin was occasion'd by what should have been his chief Resource. That Great General, intoxicated with a violent Passion for *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, and being Master of her Dominions, thought he should find therein as many Forces as he met with Charms in the Embraces of that Princess. That Excess of Security made him neglect the Care of *Rome* and *Italy*, the Centre of the Empire. *Augustus* took Advantage of it, and settled his Authority there. The Jealousy concerning the Administration, so natural betwixt Powers equal in Dignity, often made them fall out :

Year of  
Rome,  
723.

*Octavia*, *Antony's* Wife and *Cæsar's* Sister, and sometimes their common Friends, at various Times, heal'd up their Breaches. But at last they took up Arms against each other : They came to a Battel ; and the Naval Fight near *Actium* decided the Empire of the World betwixt those Two Celebrated Rivals. *Cæsar*, having gain'd the Victory, pursued *Antony* even into *Egypt*, and reduc'd him to kill himself. By his Death, and the forc'd Abdication of *Lepidus*, which happen'd Six Years before the Battel of *Actium*; that Prince saw himself at last at the Height of his Wishes, sole Master, and sole Sovereign. It was not doubted, but he would build a New Monarchy on the Ruins of the Ancient Commonwealth : But so great a Change made him very uneasy. The *Romans* Love of Liberty, and the Ides of *March*, were continually present to his Mind. *Julius Cæsar*, his Uncle, murder'd in the Midst of the Senate, by those very Men whom he thought the most devoted to his Person, made him fear there might arise another *Brutus*, and some desperate Republican, who, to restore Liberty to his Country, would murder him in his very Throne. The Passion of Fear, which was so natural to him, out-weigh'd in his Soul the Charms of a satiated Ambition ; and in those Agitations, which allow'd him no Rest, he deliberated, whether he should declare himself the King of those, whom from the very Beginning of the *Triumvirate* he had made himself the Tyrant of. At last he held a private Consultation with *Agrippa* and *Marcenas*, his Two Chief Ministers, and the principal Instruments of his Greatness ; and he consider'd with them, whether he should restore the Commonwealth to its Ancient State, or retain the Sovereign Power ?

The Historian *Dion of Nicæa*, in the 52d Book of his History, has preserv'd to us the different Opinions of those Two Great Men. *Agrippa*, sensible only of that Sort of Glory which is acquir'd by great Actions, openly declar'd for a Generous Abdication. He set before *Augustus*, the Dangers that attended an Empire insupportable to Free People, and Men educated in a Commonwealth. The different Examples of *Sylla* and *Cæsar* were not omitted; and he encourag'd that Prince to show the Universe, by restoring Liberty to his Country, That the only Motive for his taking up Arms had been, to revenge his Father's Murder.

But *Mæcenæ*s, without dwelling much on showing to *Augustus* the most shining Parts of a Crown, took him by his Foible, and remonstrated to him, That he had done too much to go back; That after so much Bloodshed, there cou'd be no Safety for him any where but on the Throne; and that he would no sooner have divested himself of the Sovereign Power, but he would see himself attack'd and prosecuted by the Children and Friends of so many Illustrious Attainted Persons, whom the Misfortune of the Times had forc'd him to sacrifice to his Safety.

*Augustus*, without embracing or rejecting wholly either Advice, took a Third Course, which he thought the safest. He resolv'd, according to *Mæcenæ*s's Advice, still to retain the Sovereign Power, but without taking the Title of King, so odious in a Commonwealth. He rejected that of Perpetual Dictator for the same Reason, as having cost his Great Uncle his Life; and he contented himself with the common Title of *Imperator*, which the Solders, during the Times of the Republick, used to give to Victorious Generals, and which he took only to familiarize the Romans



to a new and till then unknown Authority concealed under a known Title. He kept at the same Time all the Dignities and Offices of the State to himself. There were indeed still at *Rome*, during his Reign, Consuls, Prætors, Ediles, and other Magistrates of the Republick. An Image of the Ancient Government. These Magistrates did even perform all the Offices of those Dignities, though they all at the Bottom depended upon a Superior Power, which made them act according to its own private Ends and Interest.

*Augustus*, to accustom the *Romans* by Degrees to his Government, declar'd publickly, That he did not intend to keep the Sovereign Power in his Hands longer than Ten Years; and that he would lay it down with Pleasure, as soon as he should have restored Peace and Quietness to the State. Under different Pretences, he renew'd this Declaration every Ten Years, protesting that he had no other View in retaining that Power, besides Self-Preservation, and the Fear of the Resentment of his Enemies. However, that he might give them as it were a Pledge, and a Foretaste of Liberty, he divided with the Senate the Governments of the Provinces. But in this Partition, he allotted them only such as were in the Centre of the Empire, and could be govern'd without Armies or Garrisons. And to have a Pretence for keeping the Legions always under his own Command, he took upon himself to provide for those Frontier Provinces, that were expos'd to the Incursions of *Barbarians*.

The People, by his Care and Application, saw Plenty flourish anew. *Cæsar*, now and then, amused them with Games and Shows, which  
by

by Degrees, soften'd the too great Fierceness of the *Roman* Temper. Thus did that Prince, by so artful a Conduct, insensibly accustom Men free-born to bear with Slavery, and made a New Monarchy supportable to Ancient Commonwealthmen.

*The End of the Fourteenth and Last Book.*



T A

# ERRATA in the SECOND VOLUME.

Page.	Line.	Faults.	Corrections.
2.	81.	Battel of <i>Alia</i> , read	Battel of <i>Allia</i> .
4.	98.	the,	the.
7.	13.	The,	The.
7.	11.	Ability,	Ability.
11.	37.	when the <i>superior Merit</i> ,	when <i>superior Merit</i> .
12.	6.	his Dictatorship,	his Dictatorships.
16.	23.	<i>Apulleius</i> ,	<i>Apuleius</i> .
18.	8.	To them is ascribed,	To them by some Authors is
22.	13.	extinguished,	extinguished. [ascribed.
29.	34.	seasonable,	reasonable.
31.	37.	Titles,	Tiles.
38.	13.	Imprisonment,	Imprisonment.
41.	<i>Margin</i> ,	Year of <i>Rome</i> ,	Year of <i>Rome</i> , 370.
46.	24.	Colleague,	College.
58.	1.	Dispensations,	Dissensions.
<i>ib.</i>	3.	the Dominion,	their Dominion.
63.	17.	<i>Corvius</i> ,	<i>Corvinus</i> .
74.	33.	be,	by.
114.	9.	<i>Manlius</i> ,	<i>Manius</i> .
119.	17.	after the Death of the Elder <i>Gracchus Caius</i> . He always,	after the Death of the Elder <i>Gracchus</i> . <i>Cains</i> always, &c.
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*Senators : The ancient Senators and Priests generously devote themselves to Death, and are inhumanly butcher'd*

butcher'd by the Gauls, 7. 21, & seq. Most of the Senators and Grandees of Rome obtain to be own'd Lawful Possessors of the Conquer'd Lands, on Condition to pay a Rent of Acknowledgment, which they do not long perform, 9. 133. Part of the Senators and Grandees of Rome suffer themselves to be corrupted by Jugurtha's Bribes, 9. 139.

Sertorius, (Quintus) takes up Arms for Cinna, 10. 201. The Advice he gives that General concerning Marius's Offers, 10. 207. Masters Part of Spain, 11. 232. The Soldiers under Perpenna force their General to join him, 11. 254. His Skill in War gives him several Advantages over Pompey, 11. 254. His Reputation engages Mithridates to treat with him, 11. 257. Is murder'd at a Banquet, 11. 259.

## T.

**T**elestinus, at the Head of a strong Reinforcement of Samnites, espouses the Cause of young Marius, 11. 232. Marches to Rome, with full Resolution to put all to Fire and Sword, and not to spare a Soul, 11. 237. Loses a pitch'd Battel to Sylla, and is kill'd in the Fight himself, 11. 240.

Tribunes of the People, procure a Fine to be set upon Two Military Tribunes, for disagreeing at the Head of the Armies, 7. 8, & seq. Inveigh against Camillus, and force him to take Refuge in Ardea, 7. 16. Are so turbulent, that at last they obtain for the Plebeians a Share in the Consulate, 7. 42, & seq.

Tribunes Military, their Number again increas'd, 7. 3.

## V.

**V**alerius Flaccus, being created Consul, goes over into Asia with an Army against Mithridates, under Pretext that the War Sylla was carrying on against that Prince, was undertaken without Consent of the Senate, II. 218, & seq. Is kill'd by his Lieutenant Fimbria, II. 220.

Valerius M. kills a Gaul in single Fight, and being assisted therein by a Raven, acquires the Name of Corvus, 8. 63.

End of the T A B L E to the Second Volume.











